

An Anthology of Maritime Reading Experiences

A book that has been read at sea has a near claim on our friendship, and is a thing one is loath to part with, or change, even for a better book. But the well-tried friend of many voyages is, oh, so hard to part with at sea. A resting-place in the solemn sea of sameness—in the trackless ocean, marked only by imaginary lines and circles—is a cheerless spot to look to; yet, how many have treasures there! (*Voyage of the Liberdade*, by Joshua Slocum. Boston, Robinson & Stephenson, 1890. p. 30)

Allen, Everett S. *Children of the Light: The Rise and Fall of New Bedford Whaling and the Death of the Arctic Fleet*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1973.

A somewhat elegiac tale of the decline of whaling and New Bedford, contrasted with descriptions of the life of the Inuit, before and after the coming of the whalers to the Beaufort Sea area. Main focus at end is on the disastrous season at Pt. Barrow of the whaling fleet which abandoned over 25 ships, but managed to rescue over 1200 whalers. p. 89: When a library was donated to New Bedford by the Friends Society in 1813, a committee of members went over the list of books and discarded many, such as several foremost English poets and Shakespeare's works, as unfit for young people to read. This opposition to certain aspects of culture and the arts, implemented by the influential Quaker leadership, was dominant in the New Bedford area for many years.

p. 114 discusses acquisitions in 1871 for that library from the Sylvia Howland fund, and promotion of a book on the evils of Romanism as it is—"It shows its insidious workings which strongly tend to bring this country under full Romish control." Such attitudes could easily have influenced what reading would be available aboard Quaker whalers.

p. 164-5: In almost every way, the whaling masters repudiated the landsman's concept (especially that of the journalist and novelist of their times) of what they were. They were scornful of what these people had

to say about them and their scorn included Herman Melville, whom they knew less as a writer than as a ship-jumper. They did not understand at all what he had written in *Moby Dick*, or why; they had a vague notion that he was a homosexual, and they believed he had purposely drawn an unbecoming, perhaps even indecent caricature of what they were and did.

p. 181: Above the wooden belfry of the Seamen's Bethel at Honolulu flew the flag of salvation for the lonely sailor far from home, to whom the Reverend John Diell and his wife distributed Bibles and spelling tracts, the latter because many men of the Yankee fleet were illiterate. Below the belfry, in the crooked streets of the *haole* district (four hotels and nine grogshops), the word was "There is no God this side of Cape Horn."

Bell, Bill. "Bound for Australia: Shipboard Reading in the Nineteenth Century." In *Journeys trough the Market: Travel, Travellers and the Book Trade*. Edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris. Folkstone, Kent, UK; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1999, p. 119-40. [St Paul's Bibliographies]

A fascinating study of books and reading aboard emigrant ship travelling from Britain to Australia when all sorts of passengers, from gentlemen to convicts, experienced "the longest period of enforced leisure that they would ever again enjoy.

p. 126: While readers might have preferred chapbooks to religious pamphlets, they would nevertheless accept narrative tracts 'if nothing better was to be had'. Such reluctant acts of reading would have been even more likely at sea, where a combination of factors—boredom, the relative scarcity of printed matter, and the perceived danger of the journey—combined to make the use of even the most overtly moralistic text almost irresistible. Where an alternative was available, however, the emigrant would more often than not reject prescribed reading. The majority of males on board the 'Prestonjee Bomanjee' in 1854 were, according to its schoolmaster, 'men who would sit for hours reading a book' but were nevertheless entirely 'indisposed to attend school'. With

an unusually catholic library at their disposal, the most popular categories appear to have been 'History, Biography, Travels, Tales, and above all books treating of the Colonies. The exclusively religious books the people will not read; they are therefore useless for the purpose intended.'

For all the heavy-handed attempts to proselytize the eminent poor, private diaries and correspondence offer many such examples of readerly resistance, providing evidence that common readers were; in fact far more sophisticated in their use of print than is sometimes thought, real readers resembling; anything but the subjects interpellated [sic] by the texts themselves.

p. 129: The diary of one convict provides a fairly detailed account of life between the decks of the 'Hougomoont' as it made its way from London to Western Australia in 1867. Entertainments included a debating society, recitations from Shakespeare, nightly theatricals, and the publication of a weekly journal containing original poetry, critical articles, and a lively correspondence column. It would be difficult to imagine a company of more erudite passengers than those responsible for the production of *The Voice of Our Exiles*, a weekly newspaper published in manuscript on board the 'Clara'

p. 135, gives a long list of books encountered by an unidentified passenger on the voyage.

p. 136: While it has been argued that reading is by nature a distinctly anti-social activity, there is evidence to suggest that the use of books at sea could serve important social functions, even in cases reinforcing a sense of common identity. One of the most popular shipboard entertainments in the nineteenth century was reading aloud.

p. 138, conclusion: The thousands of books, tracks, letters, and newspapers that made their way to the colonies in the nineteenth century provided vital connections with familiar social values, serving for many to organize an otherwise unpredictable environment into recognizable patterns under strange skies. By the end of the century reading had become for thousands of seaborne passengers a practical necessity, the profundity of three months in cultural isolation engendering for many

the most intense relationship that they would ever have with the printed word.

Bligh, William. *A Voyage to the South Sea, Undertaken by Command of His Majesty, for the Purpose of Conveying the Bread-Fruit Tree to the West Indies, in His Majesty's Ship The Bounty, Commanded by Lieutenant William Bligh....* London: Printed for George Nicol, 1792.

p. 156, in the course of the mutiny: The boatswain and seamen, who were to go in the boat, were allowed to collect twine, canvas, lines, sails, cordage, an eight and twenty gallon cask of water, and Mr. Samuel got 150 lbs. of bread, with a small quantity of rum and wine, also a quadrant and compass; but he was forbidden, on pain of death, to touch either map, ephemeris, book of astronomical observations, sextant, time-keeper, or any of my surveys or drawings.

p. 240, on the death of David Nelson on July 20, 1789: After reading our burial-service, the body was interred behind the chapel, in the burying-ground appropriated to the Europeans of the town. I was sorry I could get no tombstone to place over his remains.

Brewster, Mary. “*‘She Was a Sister Sailor’: The Whaling Journals of Mary Brewster, 1845-1851.* Edited by Joan Druett. Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1992.

This is apparently the first known journal of a whaleman's wife aboard ship. Brewster obviously does a great deal of reading aboard ship but gives little detail or what she read or thought about it.

p. 36, Feb. 4 1846: Were it not for seasickness I should be very comfortable. I get up with it and night finds me with the same symptoms so it unfits me for work and but little of the time I feel like reading.

p. 40: Fri 20th: I am to sick to read think or do anything save roll from one side to the other.

p. 44: March 6: This evening we resumed our old employment that of reading.... [Similar references, without specifics, can be found on p. 46, 50, 54, 55, 83, 95, 247, 255, 261, 265, 280 290, etc.]

p. 47, fnt, Betsy Morey in 1853: I am much Pleased to see them [seamen] pay so much respect to the Sabbath they all wash themselves clean and Change there Clothes and then I can see them with there Books A reading and this seems very pleasant to me.

p. 95: ...when being seasick I went to bed, took a book and attempted to loose my feelings in reading but that would not do...So I employed the time in vomiting and watching the time by the clock.

p. 97: account of a dead young sailor who'd been sent to sea with books from his mother. The books "had not been read". Frank "intended to wait till a *year out* and then commence studying...."

p. 101, July 5: My thoughts and mind are taken up with the incidents of the day. I have read some in the *Bible* but not with the applying heart....

p. 246, June 26, 1846: This evening Mrs Whittlesey has read us a romantic story which our friend pronounced very good, who would think a woman of 50 would feel interested in love stories, when she pretends she prefers a single state of blessedness and occupies the same from choice.

Bullen, Frank Thomas. *The Cruise of the Cachalot*. [Foreword by Curtis Dahl] New York: Dodd, Mead, 1947.

This fictional description of the whaling life, written in the later 19th-century, should rank with Melville but devoid of Melville's allegorical meanings. It is arguably a work of fiction by a fairly prolific novelist, though it hardly reads like fiction. Although Cachalot was a maritime pseudonym, the work seems to be an accurate account of the trials and occasional pleasures of whaling. It was published in 1898, probably 25 years after his whaling journeys. Scattered references do show his fairly wide reading, but these likely did not stem from his youthful shipboard reading.

Foreword, p 1: ...just as a whim [Bullen] took to writing, a pastime for which he was fitted not by his scant education but by his lifelong hobby of reading. Many times during the brief off-watches on vessels at sea he had strained to read through the flickering darkness of the gloomy

forecastle what few books he could find on board. On one voyage, he says, he read the Bible through sixteen times.

p. 53: Keeping, as we did, out of the ordinary track of ships, we hardly ever saw a sail. We had no recreations; fun was out of the question; and had it not been for a Bible, a copy of Shakespeare, and a couple of cheap copies of “David Copperfield” and “Bleak House,” all of which were mine, we should have had no books.

p. 62: While thus ruminating, the mate and Louis began a desultory conversation concerning what they termed “ambergrease.” I had never even heard the word before, although I had a notion that Milton, in “Paradise Regained,” describing the Satanic banquet, had spoken of something being “gris-amber steamed.”

p. 64 includes an allusion to Marryatt’s “verbose carpenter.”

p. 54-66 presents Abner’s Whale, a great account of a whale capture.

p. 107, re the Ancient Mariner: What an amazing instance of the triumph of the human imagination! For Coleridge certainly never witnessed such a scene as he there describes with an accuracy of detail that is astounding.

p. 121-22, preparing for a burial at sea: The captain was still too ill to be moved, so the mate stepped forward with a rusty old Common Prayerbook in his hands, whereon my vagrant fancy immediately fastened in frantic endeavour to imagine how it [the prayerbook] came to be there. The silence of death was over all.... Mr Count [first mate] opened the book, fumbling nervously among the unfamiliar leaves. Then he suddenly looked up, his weather-scarred face glowing a dull brick-red, and said, in a low voice, ‘This thing’s too many fer me; kin any of ye do it? Ef not, I guess we’ll have ter take her as read.’ There was no response for a moment; then I stepped forward, reaching out my hand for the book. Its contents were familiar enough to me, for in happy pre-arab days I had been a chorister in the old Lock Chapel, Harrow Road, and had borne my part in the service so often that I think even now I could repeat the greater part of it *memoriter*. Mr. Count gave it me without a word, and, trembling like a leaf, I turned to the “Burial Service,” and began the majestic sentences, “I am the Resurrection and the Life, saith the Lord.” I did not know my own voice as the wonderful

words sounded clearly in the still air; but if ever a small body of soul-hardened men *felt* the power of God, it was then. At the words, “We therefore commit his body to the deep,” I paused, and, the mate making a sign, two of the harpooners tilted the hatch, from which the remains slid off into the unknown depths with a dull splash. Several of the dead man’s compatriots covered their faces, and murmured prayers for the repose of his soul, while the tears trickled through their horny fingers. But matters soon resumed their normal course; the tension over, back came the strings of life into position again, to play the same old tunes and discords once more.

p. 141: promise of books while in sick bay.

p. 154: the inestimable comfort of reading was denied me.

p. 168-9: The Kanakas shipped at Honolulu were distributed among the boats, two of each, being already trained whalers, and a fine lot of fellows they were. My two—Samuela and Polly—were not very big men, but sturdy, nimble as cats, as much at home in the water as on deck, and simply bubbling over with fun and good-humour. From my earliest sea-going, I have always had a strong liking for natives of tropical countries, finding them affectionate and amenable to kindness. Why, I think, white men do not get on with darkies well, as a rule, is, that they seldom make an appeal to the *man* in them. It is very degrading to find one’s self looked down upon as a sort of animal without reason or feelings; and if you degrade a man, you deprive him of any incentive to make himself useful, except the brute one you may feel bound to apply yourself. My experience has been limited to Africans (of sorts), Kanakas, natives of Hindostan, Mallagasy, and Chinese; but with all these I found a little *camaraderie* answer excellently. True, they are lazy; but what inducement have they to work? The complicated needs of our civilized existence compel *us* to work, or be run over by the unrelenting machine; but I take leave to doubt whether any of us with a primitive environment would not be as lazy as any Kanaka that ever dozed under a banana tree through daylight hours. Why, then, make an exalted virtue of the necessity which drives us, and oblige the poor black man because he prefers present ease to a doubtful prospective retirement on a competency? Australian blackfellows and Malays are

said to be impervious to kind treatment by a great number of witnesses, the former appearing incapable of gratitude, and the latter unable to resist the frequent temptation to kill somebody. Not knowing anything personally of either of these races, I can say nothing for or against them.

All the coloured individuals that I have had to do with have amply repaid any little kindness shown them with fidelity and affection, but especially has been the case with Kanakas. The soft and melodious language spoken by them is easy to acquire, and is so pleasant to speak that it is well worth learning, to say nothing of the convenience of yourself, although the Kanaka speedily picks up the mutilated jargon which does duty for English on board ship.

Bullen, Frank Thomas. *Fighting the Icebergs*. London: James Nesbet & Co., 1910.

A novel about a whaleman and his foundling ‘son’ who learns everything about whaling from his ‘father’: the book is a good fictional introduction to whaling, a teetotaler tract (the father becomes sober as soon as he has responsibility for the boy), and a tearjerker. Towards the end of the book the author (p ??) says that the boy was inculcated at an early age in the habit of reading. But there is a little bit of everything here: a happy crew converted from alcoholism, the mendacity of the owners, the death of the captain/father, the nip and sinking of their vessel, the success of the son, and his final marriage to a petticoat sailor. p. 141: No, his education had proceeded steadily with his life. Everything he learned he saw put into practice, and as he grew able to take a part, practiced himself, always emulating those whom he saw around him. The only exception to this was the reading of certain old-fashioned books which the skipper had bought for his own pleasure and which they read together, conspicuous among which were the Bible, Milton, Hakluyt’s ‘Voyages,’ and Rollin’s ‘Ancient History.’

Busch, Briton Cooper. “*Whaling Will Never Do for Me*”: *The American Whaleman in the Nineteenth Century*. (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1994).

An artful account of nineteenth-century whaling, with fascinating chapters on the overall industry, crime and punishment, relations and legal complications with US consular officials, desertion, religion, women (prostitutes and wives), ceremonial occasions, and an Honolulu riot.

p. 121-22, on the dubious iniquity of Sabbath whaling: Custom, inasfar as it applied at all, dictated that whalers whaled when they found whales, whatever the day. Melville's Captain Bildad, speaking for the *Pequod's* owners in *Moby Dick* [ch. 22], put it squarely: "Don't whale it too much a' Lord's days, men; but don't miss a fair chance either, that's rejecting Heaven's good gifts." The actual owner's instructions for the *Condor's* 1844 sailing were very similar. "I put on board a number of books & a large quantity of papers and tracts which you will loan to them [the crew] at all proper times & tho I do not wish whaling to be neglected on Sunday, I wish the men sh'd on that day, clean and dress themselves & perform no more than is necessary."

p. 122, following those mixed messages: Others began with pure intentions but succumbed to temptation. On the bark *Brunette* of Falmouth, the captain, who had handed out religious tracts at the start of the voyage, "concluded not to stand mast heads on Sunday," and without lookouts at the mastheads, the chance of seeing whales to chase was much diminished. The crew passed the time singing hymns.

p. 125: Though occasionally a captain's wife might distribute tracts and the like (Mary Chapman Lawrence let her daughter go forward with tracts in a baby carriage to hand out), they very seldom did more than encourage their husbands in their own piety or study the Bible with their children.

p. 127-28, on John Diell, a missionary chaplain who was sent to the Sandwich Islands in 1833 to minister to whalers in Honolulu. William Davis described Diell in a memoir published in 1874: The chaplain boarded every ship as soon as possible, often ahead of the land sharks and crimps' runners "and extended the welcome of a brother to the humblest and worst. Sitting on a chest in the forecastle, he would inquire about the voyage and the men's needs, informing that a good library and

a quiet comfortable reading room, with facilities for writing home, were provided ashore. He not only invited the men to these privileges, but also to his home, where he said he would be glad to see them, and he generally left a Bible for each man desiring one.” [Davis, William.

Nimrod of the Sea. New York: Harper, 1874, p. 93-94]

Chapter 8: “Whalemen’s Women, Whalemen’s Wives,” p. 135-57

There are two sections in Busch’s chapter on women in the South Seas. The first, on prostitution and general availability of women in the islands contains nothing on the reading of either client or provider. The second is on the wives of whalemen and their boredom and monotony. p. 149: Some whaling wives adjusted well to; their very limited world, finding ways to fill their days—especially if they had children to raise. Reading, sewing, and various domestic tasks were possible, but really only within the confines of the captain’s cabin and sitting room, and the quarterdeck in reasonable weather. ...

p. 150: It would be an error, however, to generalize on the basis of these examples, however forceful. Even the best adapted of whaling wives suffered from loneliness and boredom; these feelings, coupled with the sheer incapacity to govern their own lives (except perhaps in the education of their children), are in fact the dominant themes of most of the many logs and journals that survive. Sarah Smith, aboard the bark *John P. West* of New Bedford, may perhaps stand as an example of the demoralizing tedium. 21 February 1883: “Blowing a Gale trying to boil [i.e., boil oil in the tryworks] but hard work. nothing for me as usual.” 13 May: “Moderate nothing to be seen & nothing to be done.” 1 June: “I do not much knit lace and read it is getting tedious.” 13 August: “It has been some time since I have written any in this book but there is nothing to write about we have seen nothing nor no body hoping to some time. Have not done my Patchwork yet getting Lazy.” Even the same Mrs. Fisher whose veteran gloating is quoted admitted much the same: “I spend a great many hours in this little cabin alone during the whaling season, and if I were not fond of reading and sewing, I would be very lonely.”

Elizabeth Stetson, aboard the bark *E. Corning* with her husband, left a similarly revealing record. An experienced sailor, she was

determined to make the most of her voyage, taking over one hundred books for leisure reading and noting each by title in her journal as it was completed, usually without remark—though she found Fielding “decidedly *vulgar, & coarse*. P. p. 153: She gave much effort to the education of her six-year-old son; she sewed; she cooked; she read, or at least taught, the Bible to small Charley....

Aside from the seasickness, such trials were found at home, but the boredom was something else. 1 May 1861, a year and a half at sea: “What *unsatisfactory* life this is; day after day the same monotonous existence I think some times that we ‘never’ shall see whales again.”

Clark, Arthur H. *The Clipper Ship Era: An Epitome of Famous American and British Clipper Ships, Their Owners, Builders, Commanders, and Crews 1843-1869*. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1912.

p. 29, on ships of East India Company: On Sunday mornings the crew was mustered and inspected by the chief officer, and then assembled for Divine service, which was read by the commander, as the Court of Directors required the captains “to keep up the worship of Almighty God, under a penalty of two guineas for every omission not satisfactorily accounted for in the log-book.”

p. 31: Indeed, the maritime records of the East India Company read more like a naval history than the annals of ships engaged in commercial pursuits.

In some respects these Indiamen were remarkable ships, and they should, like men, be judged by the standards of the times in which they existed. They were owned by a company which for more than two centuries held a monopoly of the British China and East India trade without the spur of competition urging them to perfect their vessels and to exact vigorous service from the officers and crews who sailed them. Under such a system there could be no marked progress in naval science. It would, of course, be an exaggeration to say that there had been no improvement in British shipping from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the Victorian era, but it was so gradual as to be perceptible only when

measured by centuries. Thus we speak of the ships of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and upon examination are surprised to find how few and slight were the improvements made during these three hundred years in the design and construction of hulls or in spars, rigging, and sails. The only striking improvement was a modification of the really beautiful ornamentation which embellished and at the same time lumbered up the lofty hulls of the earlier ships. p. 148-49, on the work of Matthew Fontaine Maury on winds and currents: In 1856 the captains and officers of a fleet of no less than a thousand merchant ships, sailing under the United States flag upon every sea and ocean, were recording daily and almost hourly observations of the winds and currents. Under the British flag were to be counted the whole Navy of Great Britain and over one hundred merchantmen; under the flag of Holland, two hundred and twenty-five merchant ships and those of the Royal Navy. Besides these there were the ships of France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Russia, Chili, Bremen, and Hamburg, all co-operating and assisting this great scientist in his noble work.

Maury's *Physical Geography of the Sea* (1853), the first work of the kind which appeared, ran through twenty editions and was translated into French, Dutch, Swedish, Spanish, and Italian. This book treats of the clouds, winds, and currents of the ocean in a scientific yet attractive manner, dispelling the last of the sea myths which for ages had been the delight of poets and the terror of sailors, and in their stead relating a story of scientific discovery of greater wonder and beauty than any fable.

Maury's researches had, however, a very practical side to them. Hunt's for May, 1854, states that on the outward passages alone from New York to California, Australia, and Rio Janeiro, American ships, through the use of Maury's Sailing Directions, were saving in time the sum of \$2,250,000 per annum, and it is probable that could an estimate have been made of the saving in time to all of the ships using the Sailing Directions, the total amount must have considerably exceeded \$10,000,000 per annum.

p. 149-50: In 1861, Lieutenant Maury resigned the office of Chief Superintendent of the National Observatory and Hydrographic Office, deeming it his duty as a Virginian to take the side of his State at the outbreak of the Civil War. Upon this occasion he received letters of invitation from the Grand Duke Constantine offering him residence in Russia and every facility for continuing his scientific researches. A similar offer was made by Prince Napoleon on behalf of France, and also by the Archduke Maximilian of Austria. In 1866 a pecuniary testimonial was presented to Lieutenant Maury at Willis's Rooms, London, where he was entertained by English naval officers and scientific men of the highest distinction, Sir John Parkington being chairman. England, France, Russia, and Holland contributed 3000 guineas, a substantial token of their esteem and gratitude for his labors in the service of mankind.

p. 184: Off Cape Horn three men fell from aloft, one of whom was drowned while two struck the deck and were killed. The bodies of the men who died were sewn up in canvas with holystones at their feet, and were buried in the sea. Captain Waterman read the funeral service over their remains, but the ship was not hove to as the braces were never allowed to be started except when absolutely necessary, owing to the difficulty and danger of handling the yards with such an inferior crew. The bodies of the two men who attempted to murder the chief officer were taken from where they fell and lowered into the sea. Many years afterward Captain Waterman told me that he could not bring himself to read the Christian burial service over these corpses, but that he gave the crew permission to take the bodies forward, and offered them canvas, holystones, and a prayer-book with which to hold their own service, but none of the crew would volunteer to bury these men.

The *Challenge* had moderate winds the whole passage, excepting a succession of westerly gales off Cape Horn, and with her wretched crew besides, there was really no opportunity properly to test her speed. Her best day's run was only 336 miles, with the wind abeam and skysails set. She was 55 days from Sandy Hook to Cape Horn, thence 34 days to the equator in the Pacific, and 19 days from the equator to San Francisco.

The great wonder is, not that Captain Waterman made such a fine passage, but that he succeeded in getting his ship to San Francisco at all.

Cooper, James Fenimore, ed. *Ned Myers; or, A Life before the Mast.*
In Two Volumes. London: Richard Bentley, 1843.

An 1840 Cooper work in which he served as amanuensis in telling the narrative of Ned Evans attempting to “lay before the world the experience of a common seaman,” such as Cooper himself knew, and which follows that pattern of degradation and conversion. I confess to an early impression that the work was more novel than narrative, and it certainly is an hybrid genre of edited narrative, or a semi-imaginary reconstruction, in which the narrator [Cooper?] is telling the story of Ned Myers. The repeated cycle of debauchment does become tiresome.

Volume I: apparently no entries

Volume II:

p. 120: All the disposition to morality that had been aroused within me at Philadelphia was completely gone, and I thought as little of church and of religion as ever. It is true I had bought a Bible on board the Superior, and I was in the practice of reading in it, from time to time, though it was only the narratives, such as those of Samson and Goliath, that formed any interest for me. The history of Jonah and the whale I read at least twenty times. I cannot remember that the morality, or thought, or devotion, of a single passage ever struck me on these occasions. In a word, I read this sacred book for amusement, and not for light.

p. 191: The most important thing, however, that occurred to me while in the hospital, was a disposition that suddenly arose in my mind, to reflect on my future state, and to look at religious things with serious eyes. Dr. Terrill had some blacks in his service, who were in the habit of holding little Methodist meetings, where they sang hymns, and conversed together seriously. I never joined these people, being too white for that, down at Pensacola, but I could over-hear them from my own little room. A Roman Catholic in the hospital had a prayer-book in English, which he lent to me, and I got into the habit of reading a prayer in it daily, as a

sort of worshipping of the Almighty. This was the first act of mine, that approached private worship, since the day I left Mr. Marchinton''; if I except the few hasty mental petitions put up in moments of danger. After a time, I began to think it would never do for me, a Protestant born and baptized, to be studying a Romish prayer-book; and I hunted up one that was Protestant, and which had been written expressly for seamen. This I took to my room, and used in place of the Romish book. Dr. Terrill had a number of Bibles under his charge, and I obtained one of these, also, and I actually got into the practice of reading a chapter every night, as well as of reading a prayer. I also knocked off from drink, and ceased to swear. My reading in the Bible, now, was not for the stories, but seriously to improve my mind and morals.

p. 244: I read with these men for two or three weeks; Chapman, the American, being the man who considered his own moral condition the most hopeless. When unable to go myself, I would send my books, and we had the Bible and Pilgrim's Progress, watch and watch, between us.

p. 249: One day, the last time I was with him [Chapman], I read the narrative of the thief on the cross. He listened to it eagerly, and when I had ended, for the first time, he displayed some signs of hope and joy. As I left him he took leave of me, saying we should never meet again. He asked my prayers, and I promised them. I went to my own ward, and, while actually engaged in redeeming my promise, one came to tell me he had gone. He sent me a message, to say he died a happy man. The poor fellow—happy fellow, would be a better term—sent back all the books he had borrowed; and it will serve to give some idea of the condition we were in, in a temporal sense, if I add, that he also sent me a few coppers, in order that they might contribute to the comfort of his countrymen.

Dana, Richard Henry, Jr. *Two Years before the Mast. A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea.* (New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1840).

Depicts the life of the fore-castle seaman on a merchant vessel in 1840. Published anonymously, Dana was an educated gentleman who presented himself as a common seaman intending to “present the life of

a common sailor at sea as it really is,—the light and dark together.” (p. 4)

p. 24-25, on a pleasant Sabbath at sea: The men are all dressed in their best white duck trowsers, and red or checked shirts, and have nothing to do except make the necessary changes in the sails. They employ themselves, in reading, talking, smoking, and mending their clothes. If the weather is pleasant, they bring their work and their books upon deck, and sit down upon the forecastle and windlass. This is the only day on which these privileges are allowed them. When Monday comes, they put on their tarry trowsers again, and prepare for six days of labor.

p. 39, during storm rounding Cape Horn: It was in vain to think of reading or working below, for we were too tired, the hatchways were closed down, and everything was wet and uncomfortable, black and dirty, heaving and pitching.

p. 46, following the sudden death of a seaman: Our cook, a simple-hearted old African, who has been through a great deal in his day, and was rather seriously inclined, always going to church twice a day when on shore, and reading his Bible on a Sunday in the galley, talked to the crew about spending their Sabbaths badly, and told them they might go as suddenly as George had, and be as little prepared.

p. 98-99, at Monterey in California: I had never studied Spanish while at college, and could not speak a word, when at Juan Fernandez but during the latter part of the passage out, I borrowed a grammar and dictionary from the cabin, and by continual use of these, and a careful attention to every word that I had heard spoken, I soon got a vocabulary together, and began talking for myself. As I soon knew more Spanish than any of the crew, (who indeed knew none at all,) and had been at college and knew Latin, I got the name of a great linguist, and was always sent by the captain and officers to get provisions, or to carry letters and messages to different parts of the town. I was often sent to get something which I could not tell the name of to save my life; but I liked the business, and accordingly never pleaded ignorance. Sometimes I managed to jump below and take a look at my dictionary before going ashore; or else I overhauled some English resident on my way and got the word from him; and then, by signs, and the help of my Latin and

French, contrived to get along. This was a good exercise for me, and no doubt taught me more than I should have learned by months of study and reading; it also gave me opportunities of seeing the customs, characters, and domestic arrangements of the people; beside being a great relief from the monotony of a day spent on board ship.

p. 105-06, on a sailor from the Sandwich Islands who spoke some English: He was very fond of reading, and we lent him most of the books which we had in the forecabin, which he read and returned to us the next time we fell in with him. He had a good deal of information, and his captain said he was a perfect seaman, and worth his weight in gold on board a vessel, in fair weather and in foul....

p. 203, in South Sea Islands waiting for their ship, the *Pilgrim*, to return and release the men from a period of monotony: Then I took hold of Bowditch's Navigator, which I had always with me. I had been through the greater part of it, and now went through it beginning to end, working out most of the examples. That done, and there being no sign of the Pilgrim [his ship], I made a descent upon old Schmidt, and borrowed and read all the books there were upon the beach. Such a dearth was there of these latter articles, that anything, even a little child's story-book, or the half of a shipping calendar, appeared like a treasure. I actually read a jest-book through, from beginning to end, in one day, as I should a novel, and enjoyed it very much. At last, when I thought there were no more to be got, I found, at the bottom of old Schmidt's chest, "Mandeville, a Romance, by Godwin, in five volumes." This I had never read, but Godwin's name was enough, and after the wretched trash I had devoured, anything bearing the name of a distinguished intellectual man, was a prize indeed. I bore it off, and for two days I was up early and late, reading with all my might, and actually drinking in delight. It is no extravagance to say it was like a spring in a desert land.

p. 227-28: It being the turn of our watch to go below, the men went to work, mending their clothes, and doing other little things for themselves; and I, having got my wardrobe in complete order at San Diego, had nothing to do but read. I accordingly overhauled the chests of the crew, but found nothing that suited me exactly, until one of the men said he had a book which "told all about a great highwayman," at the bottom of

his chest, and producing it, I found, to my surprise and joy, that it was nothing else than Bulwer's Paul Clifford. This, I seized immediately, and going to my hammock, lay there, swinging and reading until the watch was out. The between-decks were clear, the hatchways open, and a cool breeze blowing through them, the ship under easy way, and everything comfortable. I had just got into the story, when eight bells were struck, and we were all ordered to dinner. After dinner came our watch on deck for four hours, and, at four o'clock, I went below again turned into my hammock, and read until the dog watch. As no lights were allowed after eight o'clock, there was no reading in the night watch. Having light winds and calms, we were three days on the passage, and each watch below, during the daytime, I spent in the same manner, until I had finished my book. I shall never forget the enjoyment I derived from it. To come across anything with the slightest claims to literary merit, was so unusual, that this was a perfect feast to me. The brilliancy of the book, the succession of capital hits, lively and characteristic sketches, kept me in a constant state of pleasing sensations. It was far too good for a sailor. I could not expect such fine times to last long.

p. 264: ...and we exchanged books with them—a practice very common among ships in foreign ports, by which you get rid of the books you have read and re-read, and a supply of new ones in their stead, and Jack is not very nice as to their comparative value.

p. 319, while bound for Monterey in Feb. 1836: Captain Arthur left files of Boston papers for Captain T-----, which, after they had been read and talked over in the cabin, I procured from my friend the third mate. One file was all the Boston Transcripts for the month of August, 1835, and the rest were about a dozen Daily Advertisers and Couriers, of different dates. After all, there is nothing in a strange land like a newspaper from home. Even a letter, in many respects, is nothing in comparison with it. It carries you back to the spot, better than anything else. It is almost equal to *clairvoyance*.

p. 326, while confined to the ship: Unfortunately, our books were where we could not get to them, and we were turning about for something to do, when one man recollected a book he had left in the galley. He went

after it, and it proved to be Woodstock. This was a great windfall, and as all could not read it at once, I, being the scholar of the company, was appointed reader. I got a knot of six or eight about me, and no one could have had a more attentive audience. Some laughed at the “scholars,” and went over the other side of the fore-castle, to work and to spin their yarns; but I carried the day and had the cream of the crew for my hearers. Many of the reflections, and the political parts, I omitted, but all of the Puritans, and the sermons and harangues of the Roundhead soldiers. The gallantry of Charles, Dr. Radcliffe’s plots, the knavery of the “trusty Tompkins,”—in fact, every part seemed to chain their attention. Many things which, while I was reading, I had a misgiving about, thinking them above their capacity, I was surprised to find them enter into completely.

I read nearly all day, until sundown; when, as soon as supper was over, as I had nearly finished, they got a light from the galley; and by skipping what was less interesting, I carried them through to the marriage of Everard, and the restoration of Charles the Second, before eight o’clock.

p. 398ff. Chapter XXXII has a fine account of rounding Cape Horn on the return journey. The book has several other references to reading, a fascinating crossing of social strata between Jack Tar and a Harvard student pretending to be one.

p. 477-79, in a passage praising the work of the American Seamen’s Friend Society and other Bible societies: These societies make the religious instruction of seamen their prominent object. If this is gained, there is no fear but that all other things necessary will be added unto them. A sailor never becomes interested in religion, without immediately learning to read, if he did not know how before;... and hours reclaimed from indolence and vice, which follow in the wake of the converted man, make it sure that he will instruct himself in the knowledge necessary and suitable to his calling.

Darwin, Charles. *The Voyage of the Beagle*. Introduction by Catherine A. Henze. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2004).

p. xv-xvi, Introduction: During this eventual circumnavigation of the globe, most of the time was spent first on the east, and secondarily on the west coasts of South America. With Darwin signed on as the captain's companion, the vessel's senior surgeon, Robert McCormick, was its naturalist. However, after only four months at sea, McCormick returned to England, because it was obvious that Darwin, nicknamed "Philos," short for "Ship's Philosopher," was FitzRoy's preferred naturalist. Darwin brought with him the works of Shakespeare and Milton (taking *Paradise Lost* with him on his land excursions), and, more importantly, numerous scientific texts, including Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology*. (As subsequent volumes were published, Darwin had them sent from England). The tiny cabin FitzRoy and Darwin shared contained a library of some 245 volumes. Even though Darwin missed England, he was not cut off from its newspapers and journals which arrived regularly, and as much as possible, letters from home.

Dillon, P., Captain. *Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas, Performed by the Government of British India, to Ascertain the Actual Fate of La Pérouse's Expedition....* Two Volumes. London: Hurst, Chance, and Co., 1829.

Volume I:

p. vii-viii: PREFACE--. Amid the numerous books of voyages and travels continually presented to the public, it may be thought difficult for a new work of this kind to obtain attention: But the reader is requested to observe, that this work has many claims to notice quite peculiar to itself. It is not an account of nations which resemble ourselves in manners and civilization, or of countries which had been a hundred times before visited and described; on the contrary, in this voyage the reader is conducted amid the savage tribes of the South Seas, through tracts never before fully explored, and made acquainted with human nature under a new aspect, described from the personal observation of a living witness, who has had ample opportunities of studying their characters both in peace and war, and who had nearly fallen a victim to their cannibal propensities.

This voyage also possesses a peculiar interest, from its having solved a question which divided the opinion of the scientific world for a period of forty years. And the discoverer of the 'fate of La Pérouse, after having effected this discovery, considered that to lay a narrative of the voyage before the public, was a duty he owed to the French as Well as to the British nation, and more especially to the Government of British India, under whose auspices it was performed.

p. 66-67: About this time a paragraph appeared in the *John Bull*, a Calcutta newspaper, stating that the brig *Margaret*, belonging to Messrs. Montgomery and Co., and commanded by Captain Corbin, had sailed for the Mannicolo islands, to, render assistance to the unfortunate survivors of la Pérouse's crew. The Doctor on reading over this paragraph became outrageous, and vehemently asserted that Messrs. Montgomery and Co. were interfering with the arrangements of Government, and ought to be sent out of the country; that it was shameful to attempt in this manner to deprive the person who made the discovery at the Mannicolo Islands of the reward to which he was justly entitled; though that such occurrences were not without a precedent, the great Columbus himself, the discoverer of America, was an instance. The Doctor then hurried from one end of Calcutta to the other, as if quite bereft of his senses, making inquiries about the mysterious voyage of the *Margaret* (which however all vanished in smoke). He concluded in his summary way by declaring that Montgomery and Co. ought to be transported for seven years to Botany Bay: so keenly was the Doctor alive to his own interest when the honour of the enterprize was threatened to be carried off by another party.

p. 84-86, re Dr. Tytler and free masonry: The Doctor said in an imperious tone of voice, "I wish to see those orders." Though the demand was an impeachment of my veracity, I informed him he had already seen them; but, as a matter of courtesy, not as a matter of right, I would allow him to see them again. He started up in a violent rage, and said, he could not sit there and hear me make use of such ungentlemanly language, in presence of the second officer, as to tell him he had no right to see my letters; and that he would immediately protest against my conduct, and not proceed an inch with the ship until the business was

settled. After this ebullition of violence he began to write a long despatch to the Marine Board, which when ended he read to me:—As nearly as I recollect, it stated that, “notwithstanding the orders of the Board regarding the keeping up of a good understanding between all parties on the expedition, I had refused to victual his dresser Helmick from the cabin table. I tried, in the most gentle manner, to dissuade him from troubling the Board on a subject they had already settled; and at the same time asked (knowing him to have been an enthusiastic admirer of masonry) whether this was proper conduct for a freemason to use towards a brother? In a loud voice he exclaimed, “what is freemasonry, sir? you are a public servant, and I am another: if you have any thing to communicate, write to me officially.” Finding that any further attempt at conciliation or concession on my part was useless, and that he was determined to raise a quarrel, as had been intimated to me by letter, I resolved to preserve my coolness, and disregard his insolence as long as possible. I found it necessary, however, to write a letter to the Board detailing the true state of the case, that they might see what the Doctor’s conduct had been when he was only seven hours on board the ship. I also requested the second officer to commit to paper what he recollected of the Doctor’s conversation with me, and, as it corroborated my statement, I sent a copy of it to the Marine Board with my own letter.

What rendered the Doctor’s demand, with the insolence which accompanied it, more aggravating and unreasonable, was, that I had already out of kindness to him voluntarily undertaken to victual his son (before mentioned, p. 83) at my own table throughout the voyage, at my sole charge, free of any expense to his father: who now tried to thrust upon me another of his dependents; while there were many others in the vessel who had a much stronger claim on my consideration, as the New Zealand prince, and my faithful follower Martin Bushart, who looked up to me as a parent and protector.

p. 89-90: Shortly after noon I received a letter and book from Doctor Tytler, ruled to contain the ship’s latitude and longitude each day at noon. This book being made out in a different way to that in which I was directed to supply him with the ship’s situation each day, I declined making any entry in it. The letter contained a request, or, rather a

demand, that I would allow my private servant, Martin Bushart, to undergo a private examination in the Doctor's cabin. This I considered an extraordinary demand, as he was not on the sick list, and wrote the Doctor a letter to that effect.

p. 175-76, sailing from Hobart to New Zealand via Port Jackson in Australia: In this colony, where so many strange occurrences take place, I was however surprised to find that Mr. Scott, formerly, I am told a merchant in the Mediterranean, latterly secretary to the commissioner of inquiry sent from England, in which capacity I had seen him here in 1820, was now converted into a clergyman of the established church. This versatile genius, having laid aside the day-book and ledger for the Bible and prayer-book, by divine grace and ecclesiastical favour, now took precedence of his former master, and was even become the spiritual head of the reverend and venerable Samuel Marsden, who has here for many years laboured so zealously in the cause of Christianity as to be justly considered the apostle of the South Seas. As an individual, knowing the virtues of this truly pious and venerable man, I could not help feeling much for the cruel and unjust persecutions he has lately suffered.

Volume II:

p. 369-70, apropos the discovery of relics of the La Perouse expedition: 27th.-At 10 A.M. the man stationed at the mast head having espied a ship to the north-eastward, we bore way to speak her. At noon we found her to be the *Nandey* of Liverpool, Captain Ramsey, homeward-bound from Calcutta. I sent a boat on board to report my arrival in the Bay of Bengal. On the boat's return I learnt that the late Governor-General of India, Lord Amherst, had sailed for England on the 11th instant from Saugor, on board the ship of war *Herald*. Captain Ramsey reported having met with a strong gale from the eastward a few days after leaving the pilot, by which the greater part of his live stock were killed, and a cask of lamp oil spilled. I sent him ten gallons of lamp oil, two pigs, and three geese. On the officer's return, he informed me that one of the *Nandey's* passengers stated that the people in Calcutta doubted the safety of the *Research*, and that their fears were increased by the malicious reports of Dr. Tytler, who had arrived there from New South Wales in

October last. Captain Ramsey sent me a Bengal newspaper, containing an account of the late glorious battle of Navarino. At 1 P.M. I pursued my course with all sail set to reach Calcutta as soon as possible, and dispel the erroneous conjectures of my friends.

p. 402-03: The above-mentioned arms are those of M. de Colignon, botanist on board *la Boussole*; and as the crew of the ship which went down in deep water all perished, we may conclude that every article also went down with her: we may also take it for proven, that it was the *Boussole*, commanded by M. la Perouse himself, which was thrown on the ridge, as M. Colignon was attached to that ship.

A very mutilated and misprinted statement having appeared in the newspapers and in some of our contemporaries, we made application to Sir W. Betham, who has supplied us with the foregoing corrected statement. But in order to put the point in a clear light, and shew that the fate of the intrepid and enterprising la Perouse is at last, after the mystery and conjecture of forty years, no longer uncertain, we made a drawing of the arms, as described by Mr. Russell. On referring to a standard work of French heraldry [*Mercure Armorial*, folio, Paris, 17th century], we discovered that these were the arms of Colignon; and we also found, by consulting the published account of this unfortunate expedition, that Colignon was, as we have observed, the name of the naturalist in the *Boussole*. These facts afford conclusive evidence that the vessels whose wrecks have been traced could be no other than M. de la Pérouse's ships; and the crescent or in the base of the shield, the sign of affiliation, indicates that M. Colignon was a second son or branch of the noble family of that name. Our contemporaries in Paris will, no doubt, make further inquiries into this matter, which has so long excited the curiosity, and engaged the sympathy of Europe.

p. 425, Appendix:

Remarks of the Editor of the New South Wales Monitor,
Jan. 21, 1828.

A LATE trial at Hobart Town, has not at all tended to correct our fears for the wisdom of Colonel Arthur [the Tasmanian Governour] and Judge Pedder's administration of the sister isle. The *Sydney Gazette* of Wednesday last has published a report, copied from one of the Hobart

Town newspapers, called *The Tasmanian*, (a journal edited by a loyal barrister of the Supreme Court of Van Diemen's Land), of a trial there, *Rex* (on the prosecution of R. Tytler, M.D.) versus Peter Dillon, Esq. commander of the Honourable East-India Company's cruiser the *Research*. This last gentleman, the world has lately been informed, has been supplied by the princely Company in question, with a vessel, fitted out at an immense expense, to proceed upon an expedition, whose object warms the hearts of the brave, and fires the imagination of the romantic; we say, the enviable commander of this expedition, raised to his present post of honour by the force of his own talents and enterprise, for placing his surgeon in close arrest two hours, and in open arrest, or in confinement at large, for the rest of the voyage, had a sentence passed upon him by Judge Pedder, of two months' confinement in the common gaol, besides being fined in the sum of £50.

The *Sydney Gazette*, our government official newspaper, has announced these facts to the public of New South Wales; where, thanks be to God, and honour be to Chief Justice Forbes, there is yet a free press to record the wisdom and the folly, the virtues and the vices, of our Australian and Tasmanian authorities respectively. By the report of the trial in question, the public are informed, that the surgeon of the *Research*, Dr. Tytler, was so forgetful of the discipline of a ship, of his duty as an officer, and of his own character as a gentleman of common prudence, feeling, and courtesy, as to tell Captain Dillon, at his own table, in the presence of his officers, where a man likes the least to be made to look little, that his vessel, the *Research*, had been pronounced by a naval gentleman in India, "fit only for a rice hulk; and that she would go down in a gale of wind, or be lost on the rocks of Tucopia."

We do conceive, that to speak to a man at his own table, and in the presence of his officers, in such contemptuous terms of his vessel (a matter in which all commanders take a pride, from the Duke of Clarence down to the master of a humble schooner), is equally unwarranted, uncalled-for, impertinent, and in every respect, ungentlemanly. Captain Dillon, it seems (which we almost wonder at), did not strike Dr. Tytler for the language he used: he merely left the table under powerful feelings of indignation. The next day, Dr. Tytler took upon himself a

new *title*, if not a new office; he now styled himself, at the foot of a certain document, which he had been in the habit of signing diurnally, "*Recorder of Proceedings to the Supreme Government*." This act, to say the least, was very ill-timed. It of course put Captain Dillon into extreme rage. In the midst of his paroxysm, he called for his pistols, accused the Doctor of mutiny, and told him, if he ever dared to lower him in the eyes of his officers again, by speaking of "rice barges and Tucopia rocks," as he had done the preceding day, he would have him chastised.

This language cannot be defended. It was beyond Dr. Tytler's insolence. Still however, considering the previous provocation, we do not think that it at all justified the letter which Dr. Tytler wrote the evening of the same day, and which the Doctor acknowledged on the trial. As Captain Dillon's subsequent conduct clearly proved his anger and expressions were not, as Doctor Tytler insinuated in this letter, the effect of a diseased mind, but the mere temporary ebullitions of nervous irritability, we cannot consider the said letter in any other light than direct mutiny. In the first place, it was holding out a very powerful temptation to the officer, the artful knave would have rejoiced to slip into the enviable post filled by Captain Dillon; and if such an one's villainy had been seconded with a sufficient degree of courage and address by the other officers, we have little doubt Captain Dillon would have died on board in confinement under the insult, (for a little would kill such a man as Captain Dillon in a hot climate), or have been landed in Van Diemen's Land, a *real* lunatic; there to end his days, the victim of mischance and treachery.

Some time before the voyage was concluded, a quarrel occurring on board between the first-officer and Mr. Dudman, the latter informed Captain Dillon, there was a mutiny going on in the ship, *fore and aft*; and for proof appealed to the above letter: which being inquired for, was found to have been destroyed. Captain Dillon then observed to his officers, "I must put a stop to this;" and accordingly, putting his hand on the shoulder of Dr. Tytler, he ordered him into close arrest. At the end of *two hours*, however, Captain Dillon, on hearing that the danger of mutiny was not so great as Mr. Dudman had represented, sent word to

Dr. Tytler he might walk the decks as usual; but was thereafter “to hold no conversation with the officers of the ship.”

Now, for our part, we do not see how Captain Dillon could have acted with more mildness. We heard Chief Justice Forbes say the other day, that if a commander really thought, and had *fair occasion* to think, a mutiny was on foot, he had a right to inflict punishment on his crew. Of course, we should imagine, arrest is the proper punishment of an officer, who gives like “fair occasion” to a *sane* commander to believe he, the mutineer, wishes to oust him of his command from malicious or other sinister motives, by pretending that he is a lunatic. Let every man put himself into Captain Dillon's situation, and say how he would like to be divested of the command, and treated as a madman on board his own ship, merely because he had been angry; and when subsequent events proved he was just as, and perhaps in fact more sane, than his accuser.

Druett, Joan. *Hen Frigates: Wives of Merchant Captains under Sail*. New York: Simo and Schuster, 1998.

This is a rather delightful book, based on the diaries and journals of women “sailors” accompanying their husbands on sea voyages. The women and the locations of their manuscripts (largely in maritime and historical museums) are listed in an Appendix. One assumes that most of these women were both educated and of a fairly independent streak for their times.

Chapter 1, “The Honeymooners” (p. 23-42). Almost all of the newly-wed wives cited in this chapter are described by Druett as readers, but unfortunately without specific examples or sources. There is one exception.

p. 27: According to the journal nineteen-year-old Alice Howland Delano kept on that wedding trip, however, she felt a trifle doubtful about the “social catch” she had married. “Last eve heard a dissertation on the qualities necessary for a married lady,” she noted on the first Sunday of the passage, “but did not profit much thereby.” Rereading Byron’s “Prisoner of Chilon” suited her mood much better, she said. “Only five

hours' sleep last night," she wrote, and worried that she was turning into an owl.

Chapter 2 concerns life at sea for these women, most of whom seem to have bookshelves in their cabins and access to plenty of books. p. 63-65: In later years a piano—or parlor organ, or melodeon—was carried along, piano playing being particularly fashionable after 1850, when the great showman P.T. Barnum introduced the Swedish songstress Jenny Lind to the world. It was a fad that was helped along by the catchy tunes Stephen Foster was turning out at the time, "Oh! Susannah" in particular being roared out in ship's cabins on all the seven seas. Reading was another enduringly popular way of passing away the hours, particularly in latitudes where the evenings were light enough to read on deck. Vast numbers of books, newspapers, and magazines were taken along and exchanged with other seafarers as the voyage progressed. In New York, the Loan Library for Seamen put books on board for the sailors, and Calista Stover testified that they were read eagerly by the captain's family.

Many of the women noted the titles of the books they were reading, with well-thought out comments about the content. Understandably many took great interest in books written by other Victorian lady travelers, such as Abby Jane Morrell, who sailed on the exploratory schooner *Antarctic* in the early 1830s, and wrote a long dissertation about her experiences that sold better than her husband's lengthier book. At about the same time, the English actress Fanny Kemble's highly controversial account of her travels in the Americas, published under her temporary married name of Butler, merited a lot of criticism from patriotic seafaring wives. "Began reading Fanny Kemble's journal or rather Frances Ann Butler's," wrote Mary Dow in June 1838. "She is a curious woman I should judge from her writings, not much refinement about it." However, she added, "I do not know as we can expect much from a theatrical character. Some parts are very good, some witty, and some very foolish."

Reading aloud was very popular too. Maria Murphy read *David Copperfield* to her children, and seven-year-old Jennie, in particular, was

deeply interested—you would laugh to hear the indignant remarks about David’s stepfather.” Even more successful were “Miss Alcott’s stories.” Captains and wives even read aloud even when there were no children aboard, needing no better audience than each other. Somewhat eccentrically, George Dow chose to read out accounts of “distressing shipwrecks from the *Mariners Chronicle*” to his wife, Mary, on the eve of a storm in June 1838. “Oh! Dear,” Mary wrote, but George did not take the hint.

On July 1 the bark was beset with thick fog, so “more of his accounts of shipwrecks” were read. “I shall be glad when he gets through with it, Mary penned with a perceptible shiver. Two days later she recorded “sitting in the upper cabin on a cotton bale all day, wrapped in a blanket and cloak squaw fashion listening to hear George read more shipwreck accounts. He finished them today,” adding with even more palpable sincerity, “and glad am I.” It was a too-vivid reminder of the other challenges that lay in wait for unlucky lady mariners.

p. 107, illustrations of children’s books.

p. 116: When Mary Congdon was on the *Caroline Tucker* at the age of seventeen, her mother became very uneasy when the mate loaned her a copy of Byron’s poetry, and she would not allow her to read it.

p. 154: If there was piano, parlor organ, or harmonium on board, religious tunes were tinkled, and sometimes women sang hymns to themselves. On the Boston ship *George Washington*, for instance, Charlotte Page noted that “as it is Sunday, I have spent the day in reading and practicing sacred music.” The other recommended occupation was reading improving books, such as Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*. These had limited appeal, however. Emma Pray tried to compromise by setting Sundays aside for rereading letters from home and penning replies, as well as catching up with her journal.

p. 155, notes that a sailor finished reading *Old Mortality* on the Sabbath, to the envy of his wife whose conscience forbade Sunday reading.

p. 172, on medical matters: A certain amount of hypochondria was inevitable, however. In January 1897 Maria Murphy noted that Shotgun was convinced he had diabetes. Then a few days later, he informed that he had leprosy, undoubtedly the result of overenthusiastic study of Dr.

Thomas Ritter's *Medical Chest Companion for Popular Use on Ship-Board*.

Ely, Ben-Ezra Stiles. *"There She Blows:" A Narrative of a Whaling Voyage, in the Indian and South Atlantic Oceans*. Edited...by Curtis Dahl. (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1976).

Originally published in 1849, this is Ben Ely's personal account of whaling off Madagascar aboard the bark *Emigrant*. This modern edition includes a biographical introduction and much additional information by Ely's great-grandson. Facsimile of original title page. ALBION, p. 202. p. 86: It is a great error to judge that all sailors are ignorant; for many of them have received a good common, and some of them a classical education. Many of them are well informed in matters of geography, customs, manners and commerce; and were they treated as men, and allowed the ordinary privileges of freemen, they would soon show themselves worthy of a reputable standing in the community. At present they are exposed to be treated like dogs, or slaves at sea, and as outcasts on shore. Let the benevolent bestow their benefits on seamen, treat them kindly, teach them the doctrines and duties of religion, seek to reform them, afford them moral and intellectual entertainment in port, and furnish them with the Bible and other good books, and our ships would soon do more for the conversion of the heathen, than a dozen cargoes of missionaries.

Fausset, David. *Writing the New World: Imaginary Voyages....* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993).

p. 3: the exotic literature of Europe "was most clearly manifested in fiction about the regions that remained unknown the longest....their works, too, would finally be overtaken by history and supplanted by scientific descriptions of the material and social worlds." (his examples are Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver, Poe, Lovecraft)

Grady, John. *Matthew Fontaine Maury, Father of Oceanography: A Biography, 1806-1873.* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2015).

Summary [from ABEBooks]: In becoming "a useful man" on the maritime stage, Matthew Fontaine Maury focused light on the ills of a clique-ridden Navy, charted sea lanes and bested Great Britain's admiralty in securing the fastest, safest routes to India and Australia. He helped bind the Old and New worlds with the laying of the transatlantic cable, forcefully advocated Southern rights in a troubled union, and preached Manifest Destiny from the Arctic to Cape Horn. Late in life, he revolutionized warfare in perfecting electronically detonated mines. Maury's eagerness to go to the public in person and in print on the questions of the day riled powerful men in business and politics, and the U.S., Confederate and Royal navies. They dismissed him as the "Man on the Hill." Over his career, Maury more than once ran afoul of Jefferson Davis, and Stephen R. Mallory, secretary of the Confederate States Navy. He argued against eminent members of the nation's emerging scientific community in a decades-long debate over science for its own sake versus science for the people's sake. Through the political, social and scientific struggles of his time, however, Maury had his share of powerful allies, like President John Tyler; but by the early 1870s they, too, were in eclipse or in the grave.

p. 48, in an early circumnavigation (1826) to the Indian Ocean aboard *Vincennes*, Maury: went through a course of study commencing with the rudiments of Euclid and extending to the higher mathematics of LaPlace.

Grimshaw, Beatrice. *In the Strange South Seas.* London Hutchinson & Co., 1903.

p. 10-11: So, to The Man Who Could Not Go, I address this book ---to the elderly, white-waistcoated city magnate, grave autocrat of his clerkly kingdom (never lie to me, sir what was your favourite reading in the sixties, and why were you a very fair pistol shot, right up to the time when you were made junior manager ?)—to the serious family solicitor, enjoying his father's good old practice and house, and counting among

the furnishings of the latter, a shelf of Marryats, Mayne Reids, and Michael Scotts, wonder fully free of dust—to the comfortable clergyman, immersed in parish cares, who has the oddest fancy at times for standing on dock-heads, and sniffing up odours of rope and tar—to all of you, the army of the brave, unwilling, more or less resigned Left Behinds, who have forgotten years ago, or who will never forget while spiring masts stand thick against blue skies, and keen salt winds wake madness in the brain—to all I say: Greeting I and may the tale of another's happier chance send, from the fluttering pages of a book, a breath of the far-off lands and the calling sea.

p. 156-57: At night the Southern Cross burned white in the velvet sky, and the coral rocks about the lagoons showed in shimmering pale blue underneath fifty feet or more of clear, moonlit water. Lying on the poop, like seals on sand, the little knot of passengers, captain, and mate, “yarned” for hour after hour—strange, wild tales of frontier life in new and more fights, and fights yet again:—literature in the rough, a very gallery of vivid pictures wasted unseen . . . and yet, what should any man who had the rich reality care about its pale shadow, Story?; ‘Do you care much for reading?’ “Well, no,” answers the bare-footed officer lying with his head in a coil of rope; “books aren’t very interesting, are they?”

... I thought of the pile of untouched “shockers” in my cabin; of grey London and its pyramids of books and armies of writers; of the mirror that they hold up to life, and the “magic web of colours gay” they weave, always looking, like the Lady of Shalott, in the mirror, and seldom joining the merry rout outside, where no one cares a pin for coloured tapestries, and looking-glasses are left to half-grown girls. No, truly; “books are not interesting,” when you can have life instead.

p. 169-70: You spend a quiet evening, and go to bed. At twelve o’clock, just as you are in the very heart of your soundest sleep, a native boy comes running up to the house to say that the captain has sent for the passenger to come down at once, for the wind is getting up, and he will sail in a quarter of an hour! You scramble into your clothes, run down to the quay, get rowed out to the ship, and finish your sleep in your cabin to the accompaniment of stamping feet and the flapping sails; and behold,

at eight o'clock, the bo'sun thunders on your door, and tells you that breakfast is in, but the breeze is away again, and the ship still in harbour! After breakfast you sneak up the well-known avenue again, feeling very much as if you had run away from school, and were coming back in disgrace. This time, the verandah shrieks until the natives run to the avenue gate to see what is the matter with the man "papalangis," and then console you with the prophecy that the schooner won't get away for another week.

She does, though. In the middle of the afternoon tea, the captain himself arrives, declines to have a cup, and says it is really business this time, and he is away. You go down that eternal avenue again, followed by cheerful cries of "No goodbye! we'll keep your place at dinner," and in half an hour the green and purple hills of lovely Raratonga are separated from you by a widening plain of wind-ruffled blue waves, and the *Duchess* is fairly away to Savage Island.

"Miss G-----, have you nearly done your book?"

"Pretty nearly—why?" I ask, looking up from the pages of "John Herring."

Hazen, Jacob A. *Five Years before the Mast, or Life in the Forecastle, Aboard of a Whaler and Man of War*. 2d. Edition. Philadelphia: William P. Hazard, 1854.

An actual 1837 Atlantic trip aboard a Sag Harbor whaler, told in fictional form, a well-disguised fictional account of sailors' life, near-mutiny, and desertion, etc. The hero is a novel reader (see p. 61-2, 92, 139), and the author an accomplished writer.

p. 45-46—amusing anecdote about Latin books.

p. 144-45—attempts to get place on one of the Wilkes ExEx ships.

p. 212ff.—amusing incident of encounter with lady missionary onboard ship when he is in irons, but reading a novel. She of course was there to give him something more uplifting to read, but he spurns it.

Heflin, William L. "New Light on Herman Melville's Cruise in the *Charles and Henry*," *Historic Nantucket* 22 (Oct 1974) p. 11-17

Second section is on the books aboard the ship *Charles and Henry* on which Melville shipped in 1840 for five years.

p. 11: Fortunately for the crew, and especially for Herman Melville, the *Charles and Henry* carried a small library—a rarity in whaleships of the time—put aboard her by the Coffin owners. It consisted of thirty-seven books and two magazines.... The choice of these books—many of them juvenile, didactic, and sentimental in character,—seems to indicate in the Coffin owners, or their stationer, a shrewd assessment of the levels of literacy and taste among whalemens, plus a concerned effort to provide moral suasion. Dominant symbols in these volumes are home, fireside, country, and church. But this small library was intended to entertain, too. Much of it was popular fiction, including nautical yarns, romances, and on adventure stories. There were also works of history (even one on banking) and biography. A good number were published in the year of the ship's sailing.

p. 11-15, listing of books bought for the ship from Andrew W. Macy for \$16.24. Cruise books included books of moral suasion, entertainment and romance, history, etc. The list of 37 titles presented here is in the order given in the article; the American edition closest to the time of departure is listed whenever possible:

Goodrich, Samuel G. *Moral Tales*. (New York: Nafis & Cornish, 1840).

Cardell, William S. *Story of Jack Halyard, the Sailor Boy*. (Philadelphia, PA: U. Hunt, 1834).

Colton, Walter. "American Revolution." No copy located in WorldCat.

Johnson, Lawrence. *The Shipwreck, or, The Desert Island: A Moral Tale*. (n.p., 1839).

Holden, Horace. *A Narrative of the Shipwreck, Captivity and Sufferings of Horace Holden....* (Boston, MA: Weeks, Jordan, 1839).

Howitt, Mary Botham. *Strive and Thrice: A Tale*. (Boston, MA: James Munroe, 1840).

Unidentified. Possibly Hildreth, Richard. *The History of Banks*. (London: Hodson, 1837).

Howitt, Mary Botham. *Hope on! Hope ever!* (Boston, MA: James Munroe, 1840).

The Victims of Gaming. (Boston, MA: Weeks, Jordan, 1838).

Graham, Sylvester. *A Lecture to Young Men of Chastity*. (Boston, MA: George W. Light, 1837).

Sedgwick, Catharine Maria. *Home, by the Author of "Redwood"*. (Boston, Mass: James Munroe, 1839).

Webb, Thomas H. *Scenes in Nature*. (Boston, MA: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb, 1840).

Hildreth, Richard. *The People's Presidential Candidate, or, The Life of William Henry Harrison*. (Boston, MA: Weeks, Jordan, 1840).

Hofland, Mrs. Barbara. *The History of a Merchant's Widow and Her Young Family*. (New-York:: Gilley and Austin, 1830).

Defoe, Daniel. *The Children's Robinson Crusoe*. (Boston, MA: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1830). There was another juvenile edition in 1835.

Oberlin, Johann Friedrich. *Memoirs of John Frederic Oberlin, Pastor of Waldbach in the Ban de la Roche*. (London: Holdsworth & Ball, 1830).

Amory, John H. *The Young Rover*. Boston, MA: James B. Dow, 1836).

Abbott, Jacob. *Fire-side Piety*. (New York: Leavitt, Lord, 1834).

James, John Angell. *The Young Man from Home*. (New York: Appleton, 1840). Also published by the American Tract Society.

Lowell, John. *Are you a Christian or a Calvinist?* (Boston, MA:: Wells and Lilly, 1815). [The Heflin article gives full title as follows: *Are you a Christian or a Calvinist? Or Do You Prefer the Authority of Christ to That of the Genevan Reformer? Both the Form and Spirit of These Questions Being Suggested by the Late Review of American Unitarianism in the Panoplist and By the Rev. Mr. Worcester's Letter to Mr. Channing. To Which Are Added,*

Some Strictures on Both Those Works. By a Layman. (Boston, Wells & Lilly, 1815).
 Unidentified. Possibly Sigourney, Mrs. Lydia Huntley. *Evening Readings in History*. Published anonymously. (Springfield, MA?: 1833).
 Leslie, Eliza. *Pencil Sketches*. 3 vols. (Philadelphia, PA: Cary, Lea & Blanchard, 1833-37).
 Marryat, Frederick. *Poor Jack*. 2 vols. (Philadelphia, PA:: Carey & Hart, 1840).
 Hildreth, Richard, 1807-1865. *The Contrast: or William Henry Harrison versus Martin Van Buren*. (Boston, MA: Weeks, Jordan, 1840).
 Probable title: *The Cabinet of Literature....* (New York: The Booksellers, 1835).
Fire Side Book. Unidentified.
 Washington. Unidentified.
 Lamennais, Félicité Robert de. *The People's Own Book*. (Boston, MA: Little & Brown, 1839).
 Child, Lydia Maria Francis. *The Coronal*. (Boston, MA: Carter and Hendee, 1832).
 Saint-Pierre, Bernardin de. *Paul and Virginia*. (London: W.S. Orr, 1839).
Abbott's Magazine. Unidentified, but Boston, 1833.
Family Magazine. Unidentified, but New York, 1834?

Total \$16.24

Hardly the carefully ordered reading program of a university, but since Melville declared in *Moby-Dick* (Chapter 24) that ‘a whale-ship was my Yale College and my Harvard,’ this little library should be taken into account among his early formative influences.

See Melville's chapter on the “Library of the Man-of-war” in *White-jacket*.

Hempleman-Adams, David. *Toughing it Out: The Adventures of a Polar Explorer and Mountaineer.* (London: Orion, 1992).

Includes solo trip to South Pole, yacht trip to South Magnetic Pole, and various North Pole attempts. Mills calls him a “pole-grabber” and his great disappointment is failure to achieve the North Pole.

p. 17: I also took advantage of New York’s facilities by carrying out extensive research on the Arctic and the North Pole at the city’s central library.

p.125: That night I faced the fact that I might not be able to complete the walk [unsupported to North Pole]. At my current speed I would need a hundred, not fifty, days to reach the Pole. Then I looked at more ways of cutting down the weight on the sledge. It sounds stupid now, but I was reading Margaret Thatcher’s autobiography *The Downing Street Years* each night before I turned in, and I decided that I would bury whatever pages I had read each day to lessen the load. It was important to stimulate my brain in the conditions, so I made a point of reading at least ten pages before ripping them out. The difference it made to the weight was negligible, but every little effort made a psychological difference. As a result, there are little buried cache of the thoughts of Baroness Thatcher, a day’s journey apart, all the way to the South Pole.

p. 130-31, his Thatcher inspiration: “It is easy to be a starter,” she wrote, “but are you a finisher?” He took that page and put it in his top pocket.

p. 168 ff: 4th color plate is picture of author reading in his bunk aboard *The Spirit of Sydney*, a yacht which he sailed to the South Geomagnetic Pole.

Hohman, Elmo Paul. *The American Whaleman: A Study of Life and Labor in the Whaling Industry.* (New York: Longmans Green, 1928).

A very engaging introduction to life aboard the American whaler, the business enterprise behind it, the contrast of cabin and forecastle life, as well as details of the actual pursuit.

p. 71: So little of the precious cargo space was given over to the forecastle, and so little effort was made to keep it decently clean, that the

living quarters were not only cramped, but nauseating. A ship's library, which might have been provided easily and cheaply by simply dumping old books and magazines on board, was virtually unknown.

p. 106: The more worthy and respectable institutions of the community did practically nothing to meet this crying need of the sailor for wholesome recreation and decent care while ashore. The one organization which seemed to have a clear conception of the demands of the situation was the American Seamen's Friend Society, which was formed in 1828 'to improve the social and moral condition of seamen, by uniting the efforts of the wise and the good in their behalf, by promoting in every port boarding-houses of good character, Savings Banks, Register Offices, Libraries, Museums, Reading Rooms and Schools, with the ministrations of the gospel and other religious blessings.' The Society also published the *Sailor's Magazine*, which appeared monthly throughout the greater part of the century.

But unfortunately the aims set forth in this admirable programme far outran the actual accomplishments of the Society. Of libraries, reading rooms, savings banks, and decent amusement places there was no hint in the whaling ports, though such institutions sometimes gained a precarious footing in the large maritime centers....

p. 107: Marine Bible Societies distributed Bibles and religious tracts amongst the crews of outgoing vessels.... In general, however, the orthodox churches, ministers and members alike, regarded the sailor as a moral pariah, and remained comfortably aloof from the forecastles and the waterfront.... The only ecclesiastical doors definitely and invitingly open to the whaleman were those of the Seamen's Bethel, half-church, half-mission...

p. 127, quotes Henry W. Cheever on life in the forecandle: Here, with no possibility of classification and separate quarters, with few or no books, or opportunity to use them if they were possessed, with the constant din of roistering disorder, superabundant profanity, and teeming lasciviousness of conversation and songs...three-fourths of their forty months' absence was passed. (Henry Cheever. *The Whale and His Captors*. New York: Harper, 1850. p. 305-06). By contrast, Francis Olmsted describes a clean forecandle with table, lamp, and a library of

about two hundred volumes, but he says these were borrowed from the cabin (Francis Allyn Olmsted. *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage*, p. 52). p. 177, on boredom: On the other hand, when no whales were sighted for weeks or months in succession, the very tedium and monotony of the enforced idleness became almost insufferable. The scanty stock of reading matter was soon exhausted; the entire repertory of songs and yards was known to all; the mending gave out; card playing was forbidden or waned in interest; scrimshawing could not be pursued interminably; and even sleep could not be courted both day and night.

Hopkins, Albert A. *Scientific American Handbook of Travel. With Hints for the Ocean Voyage, for European Tours and a Practical Guide to London and Paris.* Compiled and Edited by Albert A. Hopkins. New York: Munn & Co., 1910.

A compendium of shipboard needs including recommendations for desirable reading on lengthy ocean voyages.

PREFACE

Second unpaginated page: Mr. A. R. Bond of the Editorial Staff of the Scientific American, the writer is indebted for the valuable article on "Time," also for the preparation of the article on the "Ocean, Navigation, Etc." Much valuable information along these lines has been abstracted from the Encyclopedia Americana, for which our thanks are due. For revision of sections of the work thanks are also tendered to three or four score officials who have donated their work under the signature of the impersonal company.

p. 112-13:

READING MATTER

On certain ships there are book stalls where works of fiction, travel, guide books and periodical literature can be obtained. Such stands should be on every vessel. Periodicals are sold on the piers of all lines. Every steamer carries a library for the free use of passengers. Books can

be taken to staterooms, but should be returned to the library steward before landing. Remember that he has to pay for all books lost.

The SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN will be found in the reading rooms of 150 ocean and coastwise steamers, and

North German Lloyd Co.

Ocean Steamship Co.

Quebec Steamship Co.

Red Star Line.

Southern Pacific Co.

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Michigan Central.

Chicago Northwestern.

THE MARINE BOOK STALL

Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul R. R.

Illinois Central R. R.

Chicago & Great Western.

Chicago & Alton R. R.

Northern Pacific Railway.

Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton R. R.

Frisco System.
Canadian Pacific Railway.
St. Louis & San Francisco.
Southern Pacific Railway.
Ogden Short Line.

WRITING MATERIALS

Writing materials are furnished free of charge on all steamships and are usually in charge of the library steward, who often sells souvenir postal cards as well. Stationery can also be had at various hotels in Europe and also at cafes, where a moderate charge is made. Travelers should not fail to carry a fountain pen, and at least two fillers carried in different parts of the baggage, as a filler is apt to become broken and is not easily replaced except in the very largest cities. The fillers which come with a bottle of ink in a wooden case are particularly recommended, as there is no chance whatever of the ink spilling no matter what the position of the bottle. Such bottles are heavy, however.

p.132:

OCEAN STOP-OVER

Passengers who wish to disembark at a port of call when the steamer is going to other ports should notify the baggage master, or if there is none on board, the purser, in order that the baggage may be looked up and landed. Stop-over privileges are usually allowed on steamships, and the necessary arrangements can be made with the purser. No general rule can be given.

FOREIGN CUSTOMS

There are a number of articles which must not be imported into some countries. Thus, foreign matches and playing cards must not be imported into France, matches being a national monopoly. In England it is forbidden to bring in reprints of English copy-righted books; they are liable to be confiscated if found. Passengers landing in England are

allowed to bring in a pint of drinkable spirits, or a half pound of cigars or tobacco.

p. 167: *Printing Office*. — The printing office has electrically operated printing presses for printing the bills of fare, programs, and sometimes the daily paper which is issued on many steamers, thanks to the wireless telegraph. Without exaggeration, the modern ocean-going passenger steamer may therefore be said to combine all of the achievements of technical science which are in their final purpose always employed with a view of providing for the safety, well-being and comfort of the traveling public.

p. 198: It is found that three-quarters of the passengers on German liners read English books. English, French, and German books are provided on nearly all of the steamers. The proportion on a German line out of 22,000 volumes is 12,000 German, 7,300 English, 1,800 French, 700 Spanish, 200 Portuguese, and 100 Italian. These books are not selected at random, but a special librarian has charge of the supervision of all of the libraries on the line. When books become very shabby by use in the cabin, they are turned over to libraries for the crew. When their usefulness has come to an end the books are sent to the paper mill and the proceeds are given to the seamen's fund; thus the printed book occupies all positions from the cabin to the steerage.

Howe, Herbert L. *The Seaman's Library Manual*. Prepared by Herbert L. Howe, Librarian. (New York: American Merchant Marine Library Association, 1939). unpagged

Intro. By Christopher Morley: I have seen the Green Box [American Seamen's Friend Society library boxes] in use aboard American ships at sea, and I know what it means...to the reader off duty. p. [4]—besides loaning books to seamen, the AMMLA puts a crew library aboard every American flag ship. Each library has forty books, and ships with large crews may have several libraries aboard. Some member of the crew takes care of the books and sees to it that the library is changed every two or three months. The Port Representation of the

library brings the books down to the dock in a truck. Pamphlet includes a list of technical books available through the AMMLA library.

Hutchinson, John Robert. *The Press-Gang Afloat and Ashore.* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1913).

p. 42-3, description of life of impressed seaman: With books he was for many years ‘very scantily supplied.’ It was not till 1812, indeed, that the Admiralty, shocked by the discovery that he had practically nothing to elevate his mind but daily association with the quarter-deck, began to pour into the fleet copious supplies of literature for his use. Thereafter the sailor could beguile his leisure with such books as the Old Chaplain’s Farewell Letter, Wilson’s Maxims, The Whole Duty of Man, Secker’s Duties of the Sick, and, lest returning health should dissipate the piety begotten of his ailments, Gibson’s Advice after Sickness. Thousands of pounds were spent upon this improving literature, which was distributed to the fleet in strict accordance with the amount of storage room available at the various dockyards. [Footnote: Ad. Accountant-General, Misc. (Various), No. 106—Accounts of the Rev. Archdeacon Owen, Chaplain-General to the Fleet, 1812-7.]

p. 82: The negro was never reckoned an alien. Looked upon as a proprietary subject of the Crown, and having no one in particular to speak up for or defend him he ‘shared the same fate as the free-born white man.’ Many blacks, picked up in the West Indies or on the American coast ‘without hurting commerce,’ were to be found on board our ships of war, where, when not incapacitated by climatic conditions, they made active, alert seamen and ‘generally imagined themselves free.’

p. 90: The only exceptions to this stringent rule [of impressments] were certain classes of men engaged in the Greenland and South Seas whale fisheries. Skilled harpooners, linesmen and boat-steerers, on their return from a whaling cruise, could obtain from any Collector of Customs, for sufficient bond put in, a protection from the impress which no Admiralty regulation, however sweeping, could invalidate or override.

Hughes, Langston. *The Big Sea: An Autobiography*.... (New York: Hill & Wang, 1963). [First published in 1940.]

p. 3: Melodramatic maybe, it seems to me now. But then it was like throwing a million bricks out of my heart when I threw the book into the water. I leaned over the rail of the S.S. *Malone* and threw the books as far as I could out into the sea—all the books I had had at Columbia, and all the books I had lately bought to read.

The books went down into the moving water in the dark off Sandy Hook. Then I straightened up, turned my face to the wind, and took a deep breath. I was a seaman going to sea for the first time—a seaman on a big merchant ship. And I felt that nothing would ever happen to me again that I didn't want to happen. I felt grown, a man, inside and out. Twenty one.

... I looked down on deck and noticed that one of the books had fallen into the scupper. The last book. I picked it up and threw it far over the rail into the water below, that was too black to see. The wind caught the book and ruffled its pages quickly, then let it fall into the rolling darkness. I think it was a book by H. L. Mencken.

p. 58, with his father in Mexico City: So I began to learn Spanish fairly well, at least well enough to get about and meet people, and to read the novels of Blasco Ibáñez, whose *Cuentos Valencianos* I liked very much. And the terrific realism of Canos y Barro still sticks in my head.

I didn't do much that summer but read books, ... feel lonesome and write poems when I felt most lonesome.

p. 94-95, on guard duty on Hudson River mothballed fleet: Those long winter nights with snow swirling down the Hudson, and the old ships rocking and creaking in the wind, and the ice scraping and crunching against their sides, and the steam hissing in the radiators were ideal for reading. I read all the ship's library. I found there Butler's *The Way of All Flesh*, Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and d'Annunzio's *The Flame of Life*.

p. 97-98, returning to the opening scene on p. 3: I'd left a box of books in Harlem in the fall, and before we sailed I went after them. I brought them aboard ship with me. But when I opened them up and looked at

them that night off Sandy Hook, they seemed too much like everything I had known in the past, like the attics and basements in Cleveland, like the lonely nights in Toluca, like the dormitory at Columbia, like the furnished room in Harlem, like too much reading all the time when I was a kid, like life isn't, as described in romantic prose; so that night, I took them all out on deck and threw them overboard. It was like throwing a million bricks out of my heart—for it wasn't only the books that I wanted to throw away, but everything unpleasant and miserable out of my past....

p. 129—he read d'Annunzio's *The Flame of Life* on his trip up the Hudson.

p. 150, on Jake Baker, an erotic books collector.

Jenkins, J. T. *A History of the Whale Fisheries, from the Basque Fisheries of the Tenth Century to the Hunting of the Finner Whale at the Present Date.* (London: Witherby, 1921).

p. 178, [don't know that this is relevant but worth checking—books here may refer to account books]:... as they claim to know the procedure of the former company having their **books** in their possession, they are first in the field and " that the design manifestly tending to the increase of navjgation, and the benefit of all His Majesty's subjects, it is humbly hoped, will receive countenance and encouragement."

Kverndal, Roald. *Seamen's Missions: Their Origin and Early Growth.* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1986).

The classic study on the subject.

p. 106-7: influence of Lieutenant Richard Marks as evangelical in Napoleonic Wars who as minister expanded seaboard services on Nelson's *Conqueror* including reading of Sunday prayers, a ship's choir, and on arrival at home ports "Marks obtained Bibles for every mess, and several hundred tracks for distribution. (Henceforth, he seldom went between decks 'without seeing some of the crew reading them.'") He also

organized a ship's library of evangelical books, with over 150 subscribing members.

p. 223: Scotland took lead in 1822 with the Edinburgh and Leith Seamen's Friend Society and its portable marine libraries as well as port reading rooms.

p. 315-16: A "Marine Library," or (as it also came to be called) a "Seamen's Library," was established as early as 1820, on the newly acquired Greenock Floating Chapel. Similar provisions were successively made on board the floating chapels of Leith, Hull, Dublin, London and Clifton. Following the example of Lady Mary Grey in mission by media, a number of ladies of rank took a corresponding initiative with regard to libraries. Most prominent in this field were the Duchess of Beaufort and her daughter (who, in 1821, established a "Seamen's Library" at West Cowes, and Lady Thompson of Fareham (who, in 1812, founded a "British Seamen's Library" in Genoa). G. C. Smith warmly commended their efforts, advocating a "Metropolitan Seamen's Library" in the Tower Hill area as a further goal for "British Ladies." At length, after establishing himself in Wellclose Square in the mid-twenties, he succeeded in organizing his own "Sea-Book Depository," incorporating a seamen's library.

"In addition to such stationary libraries, a need was soon recognized for *portable* libraries. A so-called "Ship's Library" was seen as a means of both literally and figuratively defeating the "Doldrums." In order to relieve the tedium and attendant temptations of especially long voyages, seamen now had means that might "not only rationally amuse, but also tend to Christianize their minds."

...In the merchant navy, W. H. Angas became an early persistent advocate of not only seamen's libraries ashore, but also ship's libraries afloat. Here, as in so many areas of social and cultural concern for the seafarer, Leith led the way (in 1822-23); by 1827, that Society had some 30 library-boxes in circulation.

Meanwhile, other seamen's mission societies followed suit. The procedure was simple. A box of books was entrusted to the master for the ensuing voyage. The response was remarkable. One captain reported that his ship was now unrecognizable, having become "like a little

Heaven.” From a ship which was foundering in the Atlantic, the library-box was the first object to be saved. When boxes were returned, they were frequently accompanied by voluntary contributions from grateful crews. Concurrently with the distribution of the first ship’s libraries, portable libraries were also allocated to the more reputable boarding-houses for seamen.

Leggett, William. *Naval Stories*. New-York: G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1834. [Byron quote on title page:

I have loved thee, Ocean! and my joy
Of youthful sports was on thy breast to be
Borne, like thy billows, onwards.]

A book of ominous yarns, each introduced with poetry of Byron or Shakespeare. It is a book of fictional naval experience which equates the book of life of naval experience as a book to be read.

p. 15-16: "We shall have a dull and lazy night of it, Vangs," said the master's mate of the fore-castle, as he returned forward from adding on the log-slate another "ditto" to the long column of them which recorded the history of the day. The person he addressed stood on the heel of the bowsprit, with his arms folded on his breast, and his gaze fixed intently on the western horizon, from which the daylight had now so completely faded, that it required a practised and keen eye to discern where the sky and water met. He was a tall, square-framed, aged looking seaman, whose thick gray hair shaded a strongly marked and weather-beaten face, and whose shaggy overcoat, buttoned to the throat, covered a form that for forty years had breasted the storms and perils of every sea. He did not turn his head, nor withdraw his eyes from the spot they rested on, as he said, in a low tone, "We shall have work enough before morning, Mr. Garnet."

"Why, where do you read that, Vangs?" inquired the midshipman—"there is nothing of the sort in my reckoning."

"I read it in a book I have studied through many a long cruise, Mr. Garnet, and though my eyes are getting old, I think I can understand its meaning yet....

"Why, Vangs, you are turning prophet," replied the master's-mate, who was a rattling young fellow, full of blood and blue veins. "I shouldn't wonder to see you strike tarpauling when the cruise is up, rig out in a Methodist's broad brim and straight togs, and ship the next trip for parson."

"My cruisings are pretty much over, Mr. Garnet, and my next trip, I am thinking, is one I shall have to go alone—though there's a sign in the heavens this night makes me fear I shall have but too much company."

"Why, what signs do you talk of, man?" asked the young officer, somewhat startled by the quiet and impressive tone and manner of the old quarter-master. "I see nothing that looks like a change of weather, and yet I see all there is to be seen."

"I talked in the same way, once, I remember," said Vangs, "when I was about your age, as we lay becalmed one night in the old Charlotte East India-man, heaving and pitching in the roll of a ground swell, much as we do now. The next morning found me clinging to a broken topmast, the only thing left of a fine ship of seven hundred tons, which, with every soul on board of her, except me, had gone to the bottom. That was before you were born, Mr. Garnet."

p. 171-72: To one who has never seen religious worship on board of a man-of-war, at sea, the spectacle could not to have an imposing effect. The sailors, dressed fair in their spotless canvass garments, thronging the quarterdeck, and listening with the most serious attention; the marines, drawn up in military order, their belts as white as mountain snow, and their weapons and metal ornaments polished to the last degree of brightness; the officers, arranged about the capstan according to their rank; the chaplain in the midst, using that engine as his pulpit, and

reading the solemn and simple service of the Episcopal church; above his head the broad and snowy wings which are wafting the stately vessel on her way; and around, as far as eye can see, and almost as imagination can extend, the measureless, fathomless, unchanging ocean—the image of eternity—these, together, constitute a spectacle of the most impressive description.

Little, George. *Life on the Ocean, Or Twenty Years at Sea: Being the Personal Adventures of the Author.* Second edition. (Boston, MA: Waite, Pierce, and Co. 1844).

A Baltimore Captain in the Merchant Service who gives an autobiographical travel diary while intending to give a true picture of life at sea “blending with it those wholesome moral and religious truths, which should be inculcated upon the minds of seamen (p. 4).

p. 29, at the outset of his first trip as novice sailor: The day appointed for sailing was the 5th of December. In the mean time, I provided myself with a seachest, well stored with clothing, small stores, a quadrant, books, &c., together with a small adventure. Whilst getting our chests on board, we were saluted with the following harangue from the second officer, Mr. C.: "What! transmogrified, eh!" for we had doffed our long clothes, and were rigged in complete sailor suits; "you are a couple of tight little chaps, with pretty smooth faces for old Neptune's scraper," — and, casting a significant glance at our chests, he said, "You have two very pretty coffins there; well, we shall know where to come for plank, if our bulwarks are stove in off Cape Horn; but bear-a-hand, and get your dunnage stowed away, for if the owner should pass this way, he'll make you pay freight on your band-boxes."

p. 88-89: While at a job of work in the main-top in a forenoon watch, with an old sailor, I was not a little interested in the following conversation ; —

"Youngster," said he, "that carcass of yours got the better of your pins the other day — you didn't flinch, but you had a narrow chance for your knowledge-box when that shot knocked down Bob Wilson and

Sam Clark by your side. Well, well," continued he," there's no fun in fighting when there's nothing gained by it; I don't mind to have a bit of a dust now and then, if there's any prize-money in the way, or in my country's sarvice; for, do you see, if mayhap you get a flipper or pin knocked off, and lay up in ordinary, — why, then, you have a shot in the locker; or if a chance shot happens to let daylight through you, why, then, you're among the list of the killed; the jig's up, and there's an end on't. But, I say, youngster, you've got larnin, and I can't read a word in the book; just tell me, where does a sailor go to when he slips his wind? I've always had a notion, till the other day, that, when Jack parts his cable, he drives away to Fiddlers' Green, where there's plenty of grog and lots of fun.

"There was Tom Bunting, a messmate of mine, aboard the Syren frigate; he could read just as well as the parson, and spin a yarn as long as the main-top bowline. 'Do you think, Jack,' says he, 'after a sailor has been knocked about like the boatswain's yeoman — now under a burning sun, and then oft' the Icy Cape, with hard usage and salt grub all the days of his life, banging salt water — that he's not going to have some fun and frolic after he slips his wind? I tell you,' says Tom, 'I don't believe a word what our chaplain said the other day, that a sailor is going to be clapped under hatches when he slips his moorings, just because he tosses off a glass of grog, lets slip an oath sometimes, and has a bit of a spree when ashore.' But I say, youngster," continued Jack, "there's Bill Harris, that college-larnt chap that belongs to our watch, — he's a hearty fellow, though he does tumble down the forescuttle, and capsizes all the grub belonging to the mess. The other day, just as I was going to turn in, I overheard him say to Zeke Dowling, the boatswain's mate, Zeke,' says he, 'I tell you, it's all stuff about a sailor's going to Fiddlers' Green. Sailors, as well as landsmen, will have to heave in stays, and stand on t'other tack, so as to get clear of the shoals of destruction that lays near grog harbor, and swearing rocks, and cape frolic, which is sure to pick him up if he stands on; and then,' says Bill, 'he must obey the orders of this book,' (clapping his flipper on a Bible that lay on a chest ;) if they don't, why, then, do you see, when they slip their cables, they'll just drift into the broad bay of destruction.' 'Just belay that. Bill,'

says I; 'how is a fellow going to obey orders when nobody gives them, and he can't read a word in the book? ' ' I'll read for you,' says Bill. So half a dozen of us just coiled ourselves round him in a ring, and at it he went, just, for all the world, as if he had larnt it by heart ; so, after he had read on a bit — ‘Avast there! 'says I:— 'is that true, Bill?' ‘Every word on't,' says Bill. I just felt, youngster, the same as I did when aboard of the Syren frigate, as we lay becalmed under a French eighteen-gun battery. They bored us, every shot, and we couldn't get one of our shooting-irons to bear upon the battery."

p. 90, in the forecandle: I cast a glance at Jack, and saw that his hard features had relaxed, and his head-pumps were going. Says I, "Jack, would you like to know how to read: If you would, I'll teach you in our watch below."

"Youngster, I'll give you my grog for six months, if you'll jist larn me to read in that **book** I heard Bill Harris read. Why, there was my old mother, God bless her it's many long years since, but I recollect she would throw her arms around my neck, and read that same old **book**, and then say the Lord's Prayer. 'Jack,'" says she, "be a good boy — remember your poor old mother's advice; obey the orders of this **book**, and it will make a man of you.' "

p. 94: The funeral service was read with great seriousness by the captain's clerk, who usually performed the office of chaplain; the body was lowered into the grave, and we returned in the same order to the boats, and from thence on board the ship.

p. 118: My old messmate. Jack Sawyer, preserved his equanimity, and took advantage of every favorable opportunity, in our watch below, to learn to read, in which he made very fair progress. In turn, he embraced every opportunity to teach me seamanship, and making me his constant companion at every job of work going on, which was of signal service to me.

p. 119-20: "Why," said I, "Jack, if we live to get home, if you will follow my advice, I'll put you in the way; but first you must sheer clear of swearing rocks and grog harbor while you are on board of this ship, and then it will be much easier for you to weather cape frolic

when you get on shore. But, Jack, we've a long distance to run before we get to Canton, although, as I hear, we shall touch at the Sandwich Islands for a few days, and the probability is, that we will have an uninterrupted series of good weather all the passage. I shall therefore hold you to the promise you gave me, about the history of your old mother and yourself."

"With all my heart," said Jack, shifting the quid to the lee side of his cheek, and slapping me on the shoulder with his large, brawny hand, which for weight was not unlike a sledge-hammer; "that I will, youngster; and as it is our first watch on deck to-morrow night, I'll begin that yarn for you when we get in the top." Eight bells were now struck, the larboard watch was called, who still lingered about the forecastle, unwilling to leave their cups and merriment, until one bell was struck, when the melodious voice of the boatswain's mate sung out, "Douse the glim, below ! " and, " Larbow- lines all on deck, a-hoy ! " This order was immediately obeyed; the larboard watch went on deck, the starboard watch turned in, the lights were all put out, and I soon fell into a deep slumber and pleasing dreams of my native land, until I was aroused by three heavy sounds made with the fore-scuttle hatch, the shrill whistle of the boatswain's mate, and the hoarse cry of " Starbow-lines on deck, a-hoy! "The watch was soon relieved, and the topmen took their stations. The ship was running along with a stiff top-gallant breeze, the wind being a-beam.

p.128: My messmate, Jack Sawyer, made rapid progress in learning to read; every opportunity was embraced by him, in his watch below, to effect this result, which appeared to be the height of his ambition. Indeed, the fore-castle was more like a school than any thing else ; the elementary branches of education were taught, as well as the sciences of navigation and mathematics, by our young shipmate, Wm. Harris, who, as before stated, was an under-graduate of Harvard University. It was a common circumstance to see, at meridian, in a clear day, from twenty to thirty of the crew, with their quadrants, measuring the altitude of the sun, to determine the ship's latitude; and we knew the position of the ship, in the fore-castle, by our reckoning and lunar observations, as precisely as the officers in the cabin,

p. 139: “I forgot to tell you, when I was shipped on board the frigate S--- -- , I lost part of my clothes, and, among the rest, the little Bible which poor old mother gave me. This was the worst job of all, for it is a rare thing to see a good **book** among a set of man-of-war's-men.”

p. 315, while at sea in 1817, headed towards Chesapeake Bay: Of late, I had made a constant practice of **reading** the Scriptures; and by the light they reflected upon my mind, I saw evidently that my condition was unsafe, because I felt and believed that I was a sinner, and, as such, was justly exposed to the wrath of God. Then, again, the vast amount of goodness, forbearance, and long-suffering, which had been extended towards me by the Author of my being, all strengthened the belief, that I was the most ungrateful of men. These and similar exercises brought a renewal of that deep conviction which I had experienced on a previous occasion, and I resolved, if I was spared, to lead a new life.

p. 183: Jack Sawyer is not the man to forget a messmate; no, no! you have larnt me how to read and write, and your advice has kept me from rum shops and other places that used to swamp all my hard-earned rhino when I got on shore. Now, d'ye see, I've got a few brads in my pocket, and, what's better, I've got a boatswain's berth on board an East Indiaman. Hark ye," continued he, "so long as you bang salt water, here's wishing you may have a tight ship, a leading breeze, and always be able to eat your allowance; but if head winds and foul weather thwart your hawse, and you have to bear up in distress, why then, you know my name is Jack Sawyer, that's all."

Lovecraft, H. P. “At the Mountains of Madness,” in *At the Mountains of Madness and Other Novels*. (Sauk City, WI: Arkham House, 1964).

First published in 1931, this phantasmagoric combination of science fiction and horror novel is located on the high plateau of Antarctic, reached by airplane, but discovering the world’s highest mountains and remains of an ancient ‘civilization’ come back to life and destructive of the expedition.

Lubbock, Basil. *The Arctic Whalers*. (Glasgow: Brown, Son and Ferguson, 1937).

An engaging history of Arctic whaling.

p. 53-54: These bashaws of the half-deck had all the pride of a high caste. They boasted on one subject only—their prowess at the fishing. In all else except whale and seal hunting and ice seamanship their qualifications were nil. In the watch below they occupied themselves with yarning, singing and card playing. Few of them could read with any ease, and the man who was seen reading a book on a Sunday was considered to be qualifying himself as a chapel preacher.

p. 306, Oct 1834, refers to the wintered in ship, *Jane*, as a Bethel Ship: The *Jane*, commanded by Captain Tather, was a Bethel ship; her mate, Stephen Wilson, was afterwards a noted preacher at the Hull floating chapel, and he left a vivid log of the *Jane's* adventures.

p. 308: November 1.—[Mate of the *Jane*.]—When a most tremendous gale of wind came on, the ice suddenly separated to the east of us, called all hands, double-reefed the topsails, and cut a warp up in order to fender the ship if the swell set in upon us; excessively thick with heavy falls of snow. At 1 p.m., hoisted the (Bethel) flag, and spoke from Daniel 12, 13th verse.

p. 308: November 4 Invited on board the *Middleton*, spoke from Hebrews 11, verse 23; felt very much liberty while enforcing the necessity of faith.

p. 310: November 13.—[*Dordon's* Petty Officer.]---.... We saw many whales, but did not attempt to take any, the weather was so sever, and the ice came together at times and gave us great uneasiness about the ship's safety, as she was our only refuge; no ship, no land in sight, nor any prospect but of perishing on the ice, or in the ocean, if we lost her. But we had a Shield impregnable, to whom all praise is due.

.... When the frost was not so intense we used to amuse the mind by making, mending, reading, writing, etc., nearly all sorts of work going on at a time; some smoking and talking of happier days....

p. 311, Nov 17: The ice struck our ship with great force, which put us all in great fear, not thinking her sides able to resist such blows, forgetting that she was strongly sheathed and fortified by a Power Divine.

p. 313, Dec 8: No pen can describe the general consternation which pervaded our crew at this woeful period; but there was a Supreme Being who was our Pilot, Glory to His Sacred Name.

p. 314, describes prayer service on *Dordon* with 90 men present.

p. 317, Dec 27 on Jane: It being the last Sabbath in the year we have had prayers twice, and well attended. Great seriousness appears to take hold of the minds of some, and others appear to be as hardened as ever. May God soften them!

Lubbock, Alfred Basil. *Round the Horn before the Mast.* New York: E. P. Dutton. 1907.

Maclaren, I. S. “English Writings about the New World,” in *History of the Book in Canada*. Volume 1. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004). p. 33-

p. 38: “At least by the nineteenth century, most expeditions of exploration considered a well-stocked library an essential component of their cargo. Obviously, those in ships could afford a greater tonnage; just how many men on Franklin’s two land expeditions hauled books and charts over portages and across the tundra remains a nice question. Certainly, when the first expedition was reduced in the fall of 1821 to a straggling line of men marching back from Bathurst Inlet to the hoped-for refuge of Fort Enterprise, a copy of Samuel Hearne’s *A Journey from the Prince of Wales’s Fort, in Hudson’s Bay, to the Northern Ocean*, the only book then available about the region, remained part of the load. The party of twenty men lost their way more than once. Were they consulting the charter in the inferior but lighter-weight octavo edition of Hearne’s book, issued in Dublin in 1796? It would have made a more logical traveling companion than the larger quarto first edition (London,

1795). Yet the map in the octavo showed Hearne's return route across the Barrens differently from the first edition's map. The discrepancy could have confused Franklin, whose men suffered more than one delay, and contributed to the number of deaths. Certainly, the matter of a book's size bears materially on this dramatic possibility."

Marks, Richard. [pseud. Aliquis]. *The Retrospect; or, Review of Providential Mercies: with Anecdotes of Various Characters.* New York: Robert Carter, 1841.

Evidently the pious works of a military officer aboard a naval vessel. Rather tedious evangelical but it does give a good example of conversion through reading.

p. 87-88, Christian activities aboard ship: As soon as possible after this I applied for and obtained permission to form a public library of religious books on the following plan. Every member subscribed four shillings, and was entitled to have one book in his possession, and to exchange it for any other as often as he pleased; and, in the event of leaving the ship, to take one or more volumes with him as his own. The purser's steward undertook to keep the library chest, and receive and give out the books. Most of the officers gave a gratuitous sum. Our number of subscribers exceeded a hundred and fifty, and our library, when purchased, contained above two hundred volumes of pious, evangelical works, two-thirds of which were always in circulation. Thus, from a state of barrenness, as to the Scriptures and good books, we were soon and easily in possession of abundance: for it must be observed, that many of the crew furnished themselves with Prayer Books, besides their subscriptions to the library.

p. 125-26: Robert A. was a young man of rather superior understanding to seamen in general, and, being excessively fond of reading, he had perused and imbibed much evil from many novels, and other vile books; so that with his natural and acquired talents, he was enabled to proceed some degrees in profligacy beyond many others. He was, what he styled himself in a letter which I now possess, "the veriest slave to all manner of vice of any one in the ship." Not all the discipline of the service, nor

the presence of his superiors, was sufficient to bridle his impure and blasphemous tongue. [Goes on to show his conversion through reading]:

Being one forenoon stationed in the main-top, and having no active duty to employ his time and drown reflection, he opened the chest,” and, to his joy, observed a book. In hope of finding some idle story to beguile his mind, he opened it, and began to read. The volume belonged to our circulating library; it was “Doddridge's Rise and Progress of religion in the soul;” a subject, above all others, most unwelcome to one in his state; yet he read on, to use his own words, “torturing himself by every line he read.” Again and again he wished the book had been a thousand miles off, or that he had never seen it; yet he told me “that he could not put it away. The reading of it,” he said, “pricked him to the heart, but still he read on, drawing all the comfort he was able from the thought, that by and by twelve o'clock would arrive, and then he should be relieved from this post, and obliged to put the book away.” Twelve o'clock at length came, and, being relieved, he flew below; but he could not fly from his convictions. Ten minutes were found abundantly sufficient to take his dinner, and having left his messmates to drink both his and their own grog, as they pleased, he again sat down to the tormenting, but irresistible book. From that day he became a most patient, meek, and humble Christian. He separated from his old iniquitous companions, and passed his leisure hours in hearing, reading, and singing with the wingers, whom he had heretofore so cordially hated and despised. Nor was all the opposition of his former comrades able, in the smallest degree, to shake him.

p. 150, discussing the dark side in his view of the intellectual stimulation of conversation in the ward-room: But this same picture had a dark and distressing side, which I was obliged often to look upon. These young men had, by some means or other, got into a train of deistical reading, and of dangerous, half-infidel opinions. The works of Hume, Gibbon, and Voltaire formed a part of their library, and but too frequently engaged their leisure hours. At that time my thoughts and feelings on religious matters were much what they now are; consequently, it was not long before I and my new associates discovered that we viewed many things in a very opposite light to each other. This discovery was first

made by the following circumstance. The junior lieutenant of the frigate had, some days before I joined them, purchased, at a very high price, what the bookseller told him was one of the most popular and sensible novels ever published in England, and that a full chest of them had happily arrived at Gibraltar. I think it was the very day I went on board, that one of the officers enquired of the purchaser, "How he liked his famous new novel?" To which the other replied, "I don't know what to think of it: there is too much of religion in it. I have read but a few pages." Hearing this odd description of a novel, and perceiving that neither the enquirer nor the owner of the work cared about reading it, I requested the favour of seeing it; and found its title, "Coelebs in search of a Wife," and truly, it did contain much good advice and sound doctrine. To me it proved quite a treat, while it remained unread, and unvalued by the purchaser and his shipmates. This event discovered to them that they had what they termed a religionist among them.

p. 245: Still there was a great dearth of books of a description suited to their prejudices, habits, taste, and standard of knowledge; and knowing how difficult, or rather impossible, it is for a mere landsman to write, so as to meet these peculiarities with a good hope of success, I felt it my duty to make the attempt, and eventually wrote seven tracts, and gave them to that useful institution, the Religious Tract Society, established in London, in 1799, and one for the Church of England Tract Society, instituted in Bristol, in 1811." By which societies considerably more than half a million copies of these humble works have been circulated; and instances of the divine blessing on their perusal have not been wanting.

Melville, Herman. "A Man-of-War Library," *White-Jacket, or The world in a Man-of-War*. (New York: Library of America, 1983) p. 522-24:

Chapter 41 A Man-of-War Library

Nowhere does time pass more heavily than with most man-of-war's-men on board their craft in harbor.

“One of my principal antidotes against *ennui* in Rio, was reading. There was a public library on board, paid for by government, and intrusted to the custody of one of the marine corporals, a little dried-up man, of a somewhat literary turn. He had once been a clerk in a Post-office ashore; and, having been long accustomed to hand over letters when called for, he was now just the man to hand over books. He kept them in a large cask on the berth-deck, and, when seeking a particular volume, had to capsize it like a barrel of potatoes. This made him very cross and irritable, as most all Librarians are. Who had the selection of these books, I do not know, but some of them must have been selected by our Chaplain, who so pranced on Coleridge's “*High German horse*.”

Mason Good's Book of Nature—a very good book, to be sure, but not precisely adapted to tarry tastes—was one of these volumes; and Machiavel's Art of War—which was very dry fighting; and a folio of Tillotson's Sermons—the best of reading for divines, indeed, but with little relish for a main-top-man; and Locke's Essays—incomparable essays, every body knows, but miserable reading at sea; and Plutarch's Lives—superexcellent biographies, which pit Greek against Roman in beautiful style, but then, in a sailor's estimation, not to be mentioned with the *Lives of the Admirals*; and Blair's Lectures, University Edition—a fine treatise on rhetoric, but having nothing to say about nautical phrases, such as “*splicing the main-brace*,” “*passing a gammoning*,” “*pudding the dolphin*,” and “*making a Carrick-bend*,” besides numerous invaluable but unreadable tomes, that might have been purchased cheap at the auction of some college-professor's library.

But I found ample entertainment in a few choice old authors, whom I stumbled upon in various parts of the ship, among the inferior officers. One was “*Morgan's History of Algiers*,” a famous old quarto, abounding in picturesque narratives of corsairs, captives, dungeons, and sea-fights; and making mention of a cruel old Dey, who, toward the latter part of his life, was so filled with remorse for his cruelties and crimes that he

could not stay in bed after four o'clock in the morning, but had to rise in great trepidation and walk off his bad feelings till breakfast time. And another venerable octavo, containing a certificate from Sir Christopher Wren to its authenticity, entitled "*Knox's Captivity in Ceylon, 1681*"—abounding in stories about the Devil, who was superstitiously supposed to tyrannize over that unfortunate land: to mollify him, the priests offered up buttermilk, red cocks, and sausages; and the Devil ran roaring about in the woods, frightening travelers out of their wits; insomuch that the Islanders bitterly lamented to know that their country was full of devils, and, consequently, there was no hope for their eventual well-being. Knox swears that he himself heard the Devil roar, though he did not see his horns; it was a terrible noise, he says, like the baying of a hungry mastiff.

Then there was Walpole's Letters—very witty, pert, and polite—and some odd volumes of plays, each of which was a precious casket of jewels of good things, shaming the trash nowadays passed off for dramas, containing "The Jew of Malta," "Old Fortunatus," "The City Madam," "Volpone," "The Alchymist," and other glorious old dramas of the age of Marlow and Jonson, and that literary Damon and Pythias, the magnificent, mellow old Beaumont and Fletcher, who have sent the long shadow of their reputation, side by side with Shakspeare's, far down the endless value of posterity. And may that shadow never be less! But as for St. Shakspeare, may his never be more, less the commentators arise, and settling upon his sacred text, like unto locusts, devour it clean up, leaving never a dot over an I.

I diversified this reading of mine, by borrowing Moore's "*Loves of the Angels*" from Rose-water, who recommended it as "*de charmingest of wolumes*;" and a Negro Song-book, containing *Sittin' on a Rail*, *Gumbo Squash*, and *Jim along Josey*, from Broadbit, a sheet-anchor-man. The sad taste of this old tar, in admiring such vulgar stuff, was much denounced by Rose-water, whose own predilections were of a more elegant nature, as evinced by his exalted opinion of the literary merits of the "*Love of the Angels*."

I was by no means the only reader of books on board the *Neversink*. Several other sailors were diligent readers, though their studies did not lie in the way of belles-lettres. Their favorite authors were such as you find at the book-stalls around Fulton Market; they were slightly physiological in their nature. My book experiences on board of the frigate proved an example of a fact which every book-lover must have experienced before me, namely, that though public libraries have an imposing air, and doubtless contain invaluable volumes, yet, somehow, the books that prove most agreeable, grateful, and companionable, are those we pick up by chance here and there; those which seem put into our hands by Providence; those which pretend to little, but abound in much.
[Chapter 23 is entitled “Theatricals in a Man-of-war”, p. 441-49]

Melville, Herman. *Redburn: His First Voyage, being the Sailor-boy Confessions and Reminiscences of the Son-of-a-Gentleman, in the Merchant Service.* (Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern-Newberry, 1969).

p. 47-8: And I remembered reading in a magazine, called the Sailors' Magazine, with a sea-blue cover, and a ship painted on the back, about pious seamen who never swore, and paid over all their wages to the poor heathen in India; and how that when they were too old to go to sea, these pious old sailors found a delightful home for life in the Hospital, where they had nothing to do, but prepare themselves for their latter end. And I wondered whether there were any such good sailors among my ship-mates; and observing that one of them laid on deck apart from the rest, I thought to be sure that he was one of them: so I did not disturb his devotions: but I was afterwards shocked at discovering that he was only fast asleep, with one of the brown jugs by his side.

p. 48, Redburn addressing his new ship-mates at the beginning of the voyage:...I knew they were but poor indeed. I made bold to ask one of them, whether he was ever in the habit of going to church, when he was ashore, or dropping in at the Floating Chapel I had seen lying off the dock in the East River at New York; and whether he would think it too

much of a liberty, if I asked him, if he had any good books in his chest. He stared a little at first, but marking what good language I used, seeing my civil bearing toward him, he seemed for a moment to be filled with a certain involuntary respect for me, and answered that he had been to church once, some ten or twelve years before, in London, and on a week-day had helped to move the Floating Chapel round the Battery, from the North River; and that was the only time he had seen it. For his books, he said he did not know what I meant by good books; but if I wanted the Newgate Calendar, and Pirate's Own, he could lend them to me."

p. 81-83, talks about the Bible reading of the black cook: But on the day I speak of, it was no wonder he got perplexed. Being aware that I knew how to read, he called me as I was passing his premises, and read the passage over, demanding an *explanation*. *I told him it was a mystery that no one could explain; not even a parson*. But this did not satisfy him, and I left him poring over it still....

p. 83: He was a sentimental sort of darky, and read the "*Three Spaniards*," and "*Charlotte Temple*," and carried a lock of frizzled hair in his vest pocket....

p. 85-7: On the Sunday afternoon I spoke of, it was my watch below, and I thought I would spend it profitably, in improving my mind.

My bunk was an upper one; and right over the head of it was a *bull's-eye*, or circular piece of thick ground glass, inserted into the deck to give light. It was a dull, dubious light, though; and I often found myself looking up anxiously to see whether the bull's eye had not suddenly been put out; for whenever anyone trod on it, in walking the deck, it was momentarily quenched; and what was still worse, sometimes a coil of rope would be thrown down on it, and stay till I dressed myself and went up to remove it—a kind of interruption to my studies which annoyed me very much, when diligently occupied in reading.

However, I was glad of any light at all, down in that gloomy hole, where we burrowed like rabbits in a warren; and it was the happiest time I had, when all my messmates were asleep, and I could lie on my back,

during a forenoon watch below, and read in comparative quiet and seclusion.

I had already read two books loaned to me by Max, to whose share they had fallen, in dividing the effects of the sailor who had jumped overboard. One was an account of Shipwrecks and Disasters at Sea, and the other was a large black volume, with *Delirium Tremens* in great gilt letters on the back. This proved to be a popular treatise on the subject of that disease; and I remembered seeing several copies in the sailor book-stalls about Fulton Market, and along South-street, in New York.

But this Sunday I got out a book, from which I expected to reap great profit and sound instruction. It had been presented to me by Mr. Jones, who had quite a library, and took down this book from the top shelf where it lay very dusty. When he gave it to me, said, that although I was going to sea, I must not forget the value of a good education; and that there was hardly any situation in life, however humble and depressed, or dark and gloomy, but one might find leisure in it to store his mind, and build himself up in the exact sciences....

Saying this, he handed it to me, and I blew the dust off, and looked at the back: "*Smith's Wealth of Nations*." This not satisfying me, I glanced at the title page, and found it was an "*Enquiry into the Nature and Causes*" of the alleged wealth of nations. But happening to look further down, I caught sight of "*Aberdeen*," where the book was printed; and thinking that any thing from Scotland, a foreign country, must prove somehow or other pleasing to me. I thanked Mr. Jones very kindly, and promised to puruse the volume carefully.

So now, lying in my bunk, I began the book methodically, at page number one, resolved not to permit a few flying glimpses into it, taken previously, to prevent me from regular approaches to the gist and body of the book, where I fancied lay something like the philosopher's stone, a secret talisman, which would transmute even pitch and tar to silver and gold.

Pleasant though vague visions of future, letter on the back, "*The History of Rome*," was quite as full of matter and a good deal more entertaining. I wondered whether Mr. Jones had ever read the volume himself; and could not help remembering, that he had to get on a chair

when he reached it down from its dusty shelf; *that* certainly looked suspicious....

I wondered if *he* had ever read it; or, indeed whether any body had ever read it, even the author himself; but then authors, they say, never read their own books; writing them, being enough in all conscience.

At length, I fell asleep, with the volume in my hand; and never slept so sound before; after that, I used to wrap my jacket round it, and use it for a pillow; for which purpose it answered very well; only I sometimes waked up feeling dull and stupid; but of course the book could not have been the cause of that.

p. 118: One would think, too, that, as since the beginning of the world almost, the tide of emigration has been setting west, the [compass] needle would point that way; whereas, it is forever pointing its fixed forefinger toward the Pole, where there are few inducements to attract a sailor, unless it be plenty of ice for mint-julips.

p. 140: And yet, what are sailors? What in your heart do you think of that fellow staggering along the dock? Do you not give him a wide berth, shun him, and account him but little above the brutes that perish? Will you throw open your parlors to him; invite him to dinner, or give him a season ticket to your pew in church?—No. You will do no such thing; but at a distance, you will perhaps subscribe a dollar or two for the building of a hospital, to accommodate sailors almost broken down; or for the distribution of excellent books among tars who can not read. And the very mode and manner in which such charities are made, bespeak, more than words, the low estimation in which sailors are held. It is useless to gainsay it; they are deemed almost the refuse and offscourings of the earth; and the romantic view of them is principally had through romances.

p. 175ff, in Liverpool Redburn sees a great diversity of vessels, including a disorderly slaver-like brig from Guinea: The crew were a bucaniering looking set; with hair chests, purple shirts, and arms wildly tattooed. The mate had a wooden leg, and hobbled about with a crooked cane like a spiral staircase. There was a deal of swearing on board of this

craft, which was rendered the more reprehensible when she came to moor alongside the Floating Chapel.

This was the hull of an old sloop-of-war, which had been converted into a mariner's church. A house had been built upon it, and a steeple took the place of a mast. There was a little balcony near the base of the steeple, some twenty feet from the water; where, on week-days, I used to see an old pensioner of a tar, sitting on a camp-stool, reading his Bible. On Sundays he hoisted the Bethel flag, and like the *muezzin* or crier of prayers on the top of a Turkish mosque, would call the strolling sailors to their devotions; not officially, but on his own account; conjuring them to make fools of themselves but muster round the pulpit, as they did about the capstan of a man-of-war. This old worthy was the sexton. I attended the chapel several times, and found there a very orderly but small congregation. The first time I went, the chaplain was discoursing of future punishments, and making allusions to the Tartarean Lake; which, coupled with the pitchy smell of the old hull, summoned up the most forcible image of the thing which I ever experienced.

The floating chapels which are to be found in some of the docks, form one of the means which have been tried to induce the seamen visiting Liverpool to turn their thoughts toward serious things. But as very few of them ever think of entering these chapels, though they might pass them twenty times in the day, some of the clergy, of a Sunday, address them in the open air, from the corner of the quays, or wherever they can procure an audience.

Three more paragraphs on these services which he found well-adapted to their male audience, with preaching against their two main vices, often with the notorious women all addressed to the sinner, not the saint: "Better to save one sinner from an obvious vice that is destroying him, than to indoctrinate ten thousand saints."

[Contrast Melville here with Edward William Parry writing in his letters about the depth of religious feeling of the men of the *Hecla*. See his *Memoirs*. London: Longman, 1868, p. 186-88.]

Mercier, Henry James. *Life in a Man-of-War, or Scenes in "Old Ironsides" during her Cruise in the Pacific.* By a Fore-top-man.

Philadelphia, PA: Lydia R. Bailey, 1841. [Published anonymously in 1841. Another edition published in New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1927.]

p. 3, Preface:

CRITICS avaunt! curl not your lips with scorn,
Do let my humble Sketches pass scot-free—
For you will find them but the uncouth "YARNS"
Of an unlettered wanderer on the sea.

I had made up my mind whilst on our homeward bound passage, to slip the moorings of the present little *Craft* and let her glide before the public without anything in the shape of prefatory [sic] remark; but as soon as I mentioned the circumstance to some of the *literati of the galley*, they condemned loudly and emphatically my determination. "What," cried one old weatherworn customer, "print your book without a preface, that ain't ship-shape no how; I thought you had more *savey* than all that; damme, man, now-a-days a book without a preface is like a topmast without a *fid*, its whole dependance gone, small as it is."—Aye," chimed in a second, "or like a purser's jacket, without naval buttons; nothing to set off the quality of the article."—" Or like," remarked a third, "a sailor's jack-knife without a laniard, a most essential thing wanting."—" Or like a gun without a *touch-hole*," cried a fourth, "well enough to look at, but that little thing required to give it force and effect.

They would have assailed me with fifty other nautical similies, to prove that my work would'nt be worth a single cent without the appendage they were so anxious for; and to save myself from their incessant solicitations, I promised I would try my hand at something of the kind; and so, readers, I have made a beginning. The present little work consists but of a few of the "sayings and doings" on board of "Old Ironsides" during our cruise—for the numerous incidents, both of a serious and laughable nature, that transpire daily, aye hourly, on board an armed ship upon a foreign station, would furnish materials sufficient to *fit out a craft* in the literary line, to which this in size would be but a mere *cock-boat*; and I assure you the cruise of " Old Ironsides" in the Pacific was of this nature; but from the many disadvantages one in my

Two bells have struck, the boatswain's pipe once more
Loudly proclaims the breakfast hour is o'er.

p. 103, continued:

One you perceive encircled by a crowd
Reading a "Sun" or "Weekly Herald" loud,
His eager auditors, quite mute and still
With open mouth swallowing of news their fill.
Near yonder gun sits an industrious blade
With all the et ceteras of a tailor's trade,
Working a collar for some graceless wight
Who in a bit of flash takes great delight;
Upon it flags and stars of every hue
And parti-coloured eagles meet the view,
On which the owner bends his ardent gaze.

p. 105-11, a Chapter called "The Literary Tars" is about the ship's library books and begins: "READER! don't spoil your pretty countenance with a sneer, nor turn up your nose with disgust at the title of this sketch.—Methinks I hear you with a *pish* exclaim, "Literary Tars—quotha, upon my word the Belles Lettres are becoming fearfully defiled, when the wild reckless sailor, ruffles the leaves with his clumsy and tar-besmeared fingers." But the bard of Avon says, in the above motto, that "there are water rats as well as land rats;" why then should it be considered a strange or unaccountable coincidence if we had our book-worms on the fore-castle of a tight Yankee frigate, as well as in the boudoir or the drawing-room.—The "march of mind" is abroad, and making rapid strides in both the hemispheres; why then should it not on its journey take a sly peep amongst the worthies of a man-of-war? why should not the wanderer on the mighty deep, as well as the sojourner on *terra firma*, hail with feelings of delight, the appearance of a sheet filled with the feelings of delight, the appearance of a sheet filled with the soul-thrilling poetry of the inestimable Moore, or the quaint, racy prose of the inimitable Dickens.

p. 106-08: When sailing on the boundless Ocean for weeks and weeks together, each day bringing forth the same dull, unvaried round of employment; the same tiresome monotony still pervading the scene; what can be a greater resource to help to dispel the foul fiend *ennui*, than the interesting or amusing volume; it is at a time like this, the unsophisticated tar pores over with pleasurable feelings the pages of history, or imbibes, with heated imagination, the melting pathos of some of our beautiful modern poets. Who will say then, that some of the inmates of a vessel-of-war do not thirst after literature? To illustrate the fact, just glance your eye along our ships' decks when lying in port; under the break of the poop you may observe a group of mizzen-topmen, eagerly listening to some more talented shipmate, who with voice and effect worthy of the subject, is reading aloud passages from one of the splendid and romantic poems of the celebrated Byron:--In the larboard gangway a crowd are assembled, distorting their risible muscles at the trying though ludicrous scenes in Marryatt's Jacob Faithful or Midshipman Easy:--Again, on the starboard side amongst the main-topmen, a little *coterie* are gathered together, wrapped in profound silence, every ear intent, with open mouth, swallowing some of Cooper's thrilling descriptions of nautical life, or digesting the eccentricities of Scott's liquor-loving Peter Peebles, or the original and trite remarks of Boz's inimitable Sam Weller; and even the hard old salts on the forecastle, with the bronze of every climate upon their furrowed cheeks, are huddled together around the *trunk*, hearing, with enthusiastic imagination and eyes beaming with delight, some lettered "sheet-anchor-man" describe the glorious exploits and brilliant achievements of Columbia's ships in the last war.

p. 106-07: Whilst we lay in New York, three or four hundred volumes were purchased, comprising the whole of the Family Library; the works of Scott, Marryatt, Cooper, Irving, Bulwer, &c.; and when the circumstance was made known throughout the ship, the greater part of our jolly tars came forward with avidity and subscribed their mites towards repaying the purchase money, and felt pleased to think that they had now in their possession a stock of intellectual food to beguile the heavy tediousness of the cruise, or to refresh their thirst for mental

acquirements. The little collection of books was put under charge of the ship's Yeoman, in the fore-passage and their remained until the multiplied duties generally attending a vessel-of-war upon the commencement of a foreign cruise, had in some measure subsided, --- and the first Sunday the news flew through the ship that books were about to be issued, an all-impatient crowd immediately surrounded the ladders leading to the fore-passage, and a scene of uproar and confusion, laughable in the extreme, took place. The several volumes had been numbered, and the titles placed on a catalogue, which was forcibly dragged from one to the other, the weakest going to the wall, to ascertain what books were below that might suit their several tastes; and if the Yeoman had'nt his hands full, to try to keep peace and endeavour to satisfy the clamorous demands of all parties, I wonder at it.

There was a soft-pated "Johnny Raw," a steady cook on the berth-deck, with scarcely sense enough to know which was *banyan* day, loudly vociferating for number one hundred and sixty, which, as soon a presented, proved to be an essay on conchology; he carried it off at all events, triumphantly, though whether he could read the title page or not, I have my doubts. Next came a light hearted *harum-scarum* foretopman, up to all manner of mischief, with an eye even at this time seeking for a fit object amongst the crowd to play his intolerable pranks upon; he called for anything at all to pass the time away, number two hundred and four would answer as well as any, 'twas his ship's number, and therefore he chose it: the number in question was brought up, and our foretopman stalked off with Mason Good's Book of Nature, under his arm, to edify himself and the worthies of the larboard gangway.

Now came pushing through the crowd an old veteran mastman of fifty winters, enquiring for one of Marryatt's nautical novels; the work requested—a little pocket edition—was passed up, which the old Triton eagerly grabbed. "Po, po!" cried the pragmatICAL Bill Garnet, who, as a matter of course could not absent himself on this particular occasion: "That book is too small altogether for old Grummet; pass him up the *largest* Bible you've got, he only wants it for a *pillow* to lay his head on between the guns this afternoon—don't you see the *snatch-blocks* that he's been used to this some time back have chafed all the hair on the top

of his head.” “I know how to *keep* a book as it ought to be, and that’s more than you do, Mr. replied the man of the mast, a little fretted at Bill’s allusion to his somnolency—for which he was remarkable. “I have good reason to know that, old boy,” cried Garnet with a knowing leer, “for them song books of mine I lent you three months ago, you are keeping so slick that I never expect to see them again;” this remarked of Garnet’s caused a laugh all round the crowd, and Grummet took his departure without making a reply. One of the [p. 110] galley cooks now popped his curly head amongst the assemblage, and asked in quite a polite style for Moore’s “Loves of the Angels.” “Never mind,” cried Flukes, the main-top wag—“I’ve got Sitting on a Rail and Gumbo Squash in my *ditty-bag* I can let you have, they will answer you just the same; you will be more at *home* with them at all events.” “I’d have you to understand,” replied the “gemman”—his lips thickening and his nose dilating with anger, “that I don’t read such foolish stupid stuff as you have just mentioned—nothing less than Moore or Byron in the shape of poetry do I think palatable; and when I read prose, always give me a philosophical treatise; I always like something *heavy* to digest.” “Then that *duff* that we had for dinner in our mess to-day would just suit you to a *ravelling*,” remarked Pat Bradley, “for in my opinion, it was as *hard* and as *heavy* as a thirty-two pound shot—that would sit *solid* enough on your stomach, I tell you.”

“I’d advise Snowball to get an essay on the rudiments of *coffee-making*,” chimed in Garnet, “for the d-----d stuff he sold me yesterday was like so much bilge-water; look out for yourself if you come that *load* over me again, I’d *capsize* your *apple-cart* for you;” this twittering on facts caused the *darkie* to disappear pretty quick, for he knew Garnet was not a fellow to be tampered with. A wild scamp of a mizzen-topman now sung out lustily for some book or another; “you know what will suit me,” he remarked to the Yeoman; “Yes! Yes!” cried Flukes, “pass him up the Youth’s easy road to the Gallows; that will fit him exactly”[This was] interrupted by the ship’s barber enquiring at a hazard for number one hundred and twenty; it was passed up to him and proved to be a Treatise on Physiology; “my gracious!” cried the man of soap-suds, this is too *dull* altogether for me.”---“Then it’s exactly like your *razors*,

Patterson,” remarked Garnet; for he was determined to have a rap at the poor shaver some how or another. “Here’s a first-rate work on Phlebotomy you can have,” remarked Flukes, “’twill answer you to a hair.” In what manner will that answer me?” enquired the barber. “Why you know phlebotomy means *blood-letting*,” continued the main-top wag; “and I’m sure every time you take a *razor* in hand, you do plenty of that work; now this might teach you to scarify a man's countenance on quite a new principle.” The poor barber could'nt stomach this innuendo at all; it cut him too close; and finding the main-topman was too keen a blade to handle—his wit having too sharp an edge, he quickly made himself scarce, fearing a second attack.

The crowd now began gradually to disappear from around the ladders, in fact the greater part of the books were served out; and in every part of the ship, from the old weather-beaten quarter-gunner to the youthful, interesting messenger boy, all might be perceived pouring over some volume, with a face as demure and lengthened as a well fed limb of the law when perusing a brief upon which great expectations rested; and on this evening in particular, our lads might well be called “literary tars.”

p. 112-13: To beguile the monotony that hangs like an incubus upon him, the sailor has recourse to divers methods; the merry song, the romantic tale, the facetious anecdote, are all brought in force to kill this foul fiend ennui; and when a theatrical representation takes place, or a batch of six-months-old newspapers go the round of the ship, they furnish a topic for conversation and discussion at least for a month.

[Another chapter, p 121-129, is on “Aquatic Theatricals.”]

p. 129-30: At this distant corner of the globe, communications from friends or acquaintances in the happy land of Columbia, are like angel's visits, “few and far between;” and poor Jack, if he can but get a glance at a small batch of newspapers, twice within the twelvemonth, blesses his stars for this literary treat.

On the tenth of August, a couple of large bags well filled with letters and packages of journals, arrived at Callao, (where we were then lying,) and were quickly distributed to their several owners. In a little time, in every part of the ship you Could

perceive our frigate's newsmongers on the alert, reading aloud Heralds, Suns, Expresses and Brother Jonathans, to attentive crowds, who were swallowing with true relish their precious contents.... Now on board a frigate, the precincts of the galley on the gun-deck...is the regular news-room; and here during meal hours, the events of the passing day, the nation's rise and fall, shinplasters and the banks, and the political state of our beloved country, are as eagerly and enthusiastically argued, as if tens of thousands of dollars depended upon the issue of the debate. This spot was crowded more than ever upon the day I have above adverted to, and as it was the first news they had had of the serious appearance the boundary question had taken, they gave forth their opinions upon the subject loudly and emphatically. "So the lads in Maine are determined to stand Johnny Bull's encroachments no longer upon their property," broke forth a serious looking old tar, after reading a leading article from one of the journals just received on the subject of affairs in that state, written with true Yankee spirit; "them ere down-easters are not to be fooled with I tell you, and as for old Governor Fairfield, he's as hot as Chili pepper on anything that touches the privileges of his state; they're at loggerheads afore this, I'd bet my breakfast-grog."—"I don't believe a single word of it," cried old Bowser, the forecastle-man; "believe me, 'tis all flummery, I've heard the same old story afore I shipped this time; do you think for the sake of a few acres of land they're going to have another war with England, with whom you may say we're now on the same footing as brothers? for my part I never wish to see it."—"Why, you're not showing the white feather already I hope, Bowser?" remarked Flakes, the maintop wag; "damme, if they do come to the brush, we'll give as good as they'll send, I promise you." "You're mighty fine at pitching a galley yarn, I hav'nt the least doubt, Mr. Flukes," replied Bowser; "and as for being scared at a mouthful of smoke or gunpowder, I've took too many doses of that stuff on this same old craft's gun-deck last war, to be frightened at its spoiling my complexion this time of my life." -

Mereweather, John Davies. *Life Onboard an Emigrant Ship: Being a Diary of a Voyage to Australia.* (London: T. Hatchard, 1852).

The Rev. Mereweather of the Anglican Church saw it as his unpaid duty to provide moral leadership to the “poorer classes” being conveyed to Australia. Proceeds from its sale would go to the Female Emigrant Society for that purpose.

p. 23, March 10th (Sunday) [1850]: I ha morning service on deck for the first time. A reading desk, covered with the union jack, was rigged out for me on the poop, so that I faced the emigrants, who were sitting beneath me on the deck. The Captain, officers, and crew sat behind me on the poop. Read the morning prayers and preached a sermon. The Litany was omitted. The service, altogether, lasted an hour. Nearly all the emigrants, excepting a few depraved young men, who sat on the forecastle smoking, were present, and behaved with great decorum. Soon after service the emigrants dined, and after dinner they sat in groups round the deck, some few conversing quietly, but most reading books of a religious nature.

p. 46, April 13th: In my cabin all the morning reading an article of Chambers on the History of the Bible. There is much useful information in it.... In fact, he is an unphilosophical unbeliever. If I wished to bring up a number of young people entirely voice of fixed principles on religious subjects, I would put into their hands Chambers’s works.

June 13th: To-day I examined all the children. Find that they have made much progress, during the voyage, in spelling reading, and Scripture knowledge, but not much in writing. In fact, now every child who is of an age to read, can read; and all, except the very little ones, can answer easy questions on religious subjects.

Miller, Pamela A. *And the Whale is Ours: Creative Writing of American Whalemen*. (Boston: David R. Godine: Kendall Whaling Museum 1979).

A book of extensive excerpts of whalemen’s own escape literature, their own personal journals, often sentimental claptrap about home, love, and death, but best when devoted to their trade of whaling which they tended to depict accurately and realistically.

p. 9-10: Most whalemens journalists never expected their works to be read or saved. Few were interested in writing other than as a daily record, and few of the journals make interesting reading. Most lapse into an irritating sameness, no matter what their date. Except for the occasional excitement of taking a whale, life on board ship began and ended in routine....

Even those whalemens who enjoyed writing and did a great deal of it were frequently overcome with boredom and a sense of futility that daily journal keeping seemed only to aggravate. George Mills, for example, a mate on several whaleships in the mid-1850s, kept a journal which includes many poems and some fiction. But prolific as he was, the prospect of recording daily life on a whaleship became impossible. His journal, after the first forty-six pages, contains the following: *NOTICE*
No, as I live, and nothing happens more than what eventfully takes place. I will not continue Log keeping no more. No how for it is one day out and another in. Just the same. therefore Please Excuse Etc

p. 17: The mid-nineteenth century produced vast amounts of cheap, conventional literature, and many whalemens read it. No wonder: in both the cramped quarters of the officers and the squalid quarters of the crew, monotony was ever present. Voyages were long (three years was common), and months could go by without sighting a whale. Shipboard tasks took up part of the day, but still there were long bleak stretches that scrim-shawing, singing, and fighting could never fill. For many, reading was the best escape. Francis Olmsted's *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage* describes the forecabin of the *North America* designed with its crew's literary entertainment in mind.

The forecabin of the North America is much larger than those of most ships of her tonnage, and is scrubbed out regularly every morning. There is a table and a lamp, so that the men have conveniences for reading and writing if they choose to avail themselves of them; and many of them are practicing writing every day or learning how to write. Their stationery they purchase out of the ship's stores, and then come to one of the officers or myself for copies, or to have their pens mended. When not otherwise

occupied, they draw books from the library in the cabin, and read; or if they do not know how, get someone to teach them. We have a good library on board, consisting of about two hundred volumes....

[Olmsted, Francis: *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage* (New York: Appleton, 1841) p. 52.]

p. 18: Until about 1830, a turning point for American literature as well as American whaling, the published authors mentioned or quoted in journals are the traditional British and American favorites still known today. References are frequent to such writings as Shakespeare's plays, the Bible, the poetry of Alexander Pope, James Thomson's 'The Seasons,' and Edward Young's 'Night Thoughts.' After 1830, the rise of the popular press widened the scope of available reading matter and generally lowered its quality. Seven compulsive list makers, all officers, have left full records of their shipboard reading. The later the list, the more prevalent are ephemera, dime novels or their equivalents.

Frederick H. Russell, on the *Pioneer* in the 1870's, lists fifty-nine novels and nine 'Stories I have read in the ledger [clearly a newspaper]' as his reading for that voyage. While he did read such popular and now classic novels as *The Black Tulip*, *The Woman in White*, *Oliver Twist*, and *Our Mutual Friend*, most of Russell's list is comprised of sensational literature. At least eight entries are from Beadle's series of dime novels, and many have titles like *Adelaide the Avenger* and *Chenga the Cheyenne*. [Russell's journal is at Sterling Library, Yale]

p. 18-19: In the same work, Olmsted states that many other whaleships resembled the *North America*. He was mistaken. Few whaleships had any library at all. Most whalers were limited to what they brought with them or what they could exchange during games. J. Ross Browne's *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise* (1846) describes the more usual situation, in this case at sea enroute to the Indian Ocean:

p. 110: The monotony of a long passage is known to every body who has ever read of the sea. Seldom is it relieved, except by a squall, a calm a sail in sight, or some trifling adventure. Time hung very heavily on our hands, though we contrived various means to pass it away as pleasantly as possible. The chief resources I had for driving dull care away were

reading, drawing, writing in my journal, eating whenever I could get any thing to eat, and sleeping whenever the Portuguese would give me a chance. As to reading, I was necessarily compelled to read whatever I could get. Unfortunately, I had brought neither books nor papers with me, so that I had to depend entirely on the officers, none of whom was [were] troubled with a literary taste. Mr. D_____, the first mate, who was very friendly toward me, had a bundle of old Philadelphia weeklies, which I read over a dozen times, advertisements and all. The cooper, a young man from New Bedford, was by far the most intelligent man aft. His stock of literature consisted of a temperance book, a few Mormon tracts, and Lady Dacre's Diary of a Chaperone... [I read these till I almost had them by heart. The captain himself was an illiterate man, 'wise in his own conceit.' He had the reputation at home of being a pious man; and, as some evidence of this, I procured from one of the officers a work belonging to him of a religious character. I can not say, however, that his conduct was in strict conformity with the reputation he had gained as a man of piety.] One of my shipmates had a Bible; another, the first volume of Cooper's Pilot; a third, the Songster's own Book; a fourth, the Complete Letter Writer; and a fifth claimed, as his total literary stock, a copy of the Flash newspaper, published in New York...[in which he cut a conspicuous figure as the 'Lady's Fancy Man.'].] I read and reread all of these. Every week I was obliged to commence on the stale reading, placing the latest read away till I systematically arrived at them again, [when they were pretty fresh, considering the number of times they had been overhauled. When I became thoroughly satiated with the fresh and stale, I had recourse to drawing at which I considered myself somewhat of an amateur.... [Taken from p. 110-11 of Browne's Sketches.]

[The remainder of the book consists of topical chapters of selections from the journals of whalemens such as those noted above, much of it in poetry. Topics include 2) Thoughts of Home; 3) Eternity of Love; 4) The Grim Messenger of Death; 5) Us Lone Wand'ring Whaling Men. Miller's Afterword claims that the real contribution of these seven journal writers was not in their accounts of home, love, death, etc. to which they add little, but rather to their accounts of whaling itself, the

one area they did not romanticize. “Their fresh, exuberant writing celebrate their unusual life in pursuit of the whale” (p. 177).]

Mitchell, William. *General Greely: The Story of a Great American.* (New York: Putnam’s, 1936).

p. 76: Greely had brought along a very good library, which proved to a great source of interest and comfort during the dark months. Besides the scientific works, encyclopedias and books related to the Arctic, there were over one thousand novels and magazines. Private Schneider, a young German, played the violin, his favorite selection being “Over the Garden Wall.

Norling, Lisa. *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whalefishery, 1720-1870.* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina, 2000).

This book has some smatterings of women’s reading matter but most of it is ashore. An exception:

p. 259, where Julia Fisk joins her husband Silas’s ship, and Lydia Sigourney approves: My dear Mrs. Fisk, I have just received your letter saying you have decided to sail with your husband, and hasten to send you both some books,--to which I add a few pamphlets and periodicals,--thinking light reading might be agreeable on so long a voyage, and that you might like some to distribute to the sailors....

p. 260: To Sigourney, even a whaling voyage could be domesticated by bringing along some reading and some peppermints.... Sigourney suggested that Mrs Fisk might distribute appropriately improving reading to the sailors, thereby extending a Christian woman’s moral influence not only over her husband but also over the crew.

Olmsted, Francis Allyn. *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage....* New York: Appleton, 1841). (New edition. Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1969).

Olmsted was a passenger aboard the whaler *North American* [a temperance ship] in 1839, a trip taken as a kind of rest cure for his

chronic nervous debility. He returned to Yale for medical school and in fact graduated but died in 1844 after a second voyage.

p. 52-53: The forecastle of the North American is much larger than those of most ships of her tonnage, and is scrubbed out regularly every morning. There is a table and a lamp, so that the men have convenience for reading and writing if they choose to avail themselves of them; and many of them are practicing writing every day or learning how to write. Their stationery they purchase out of the ship's stores, and then come to one of the officers or myself for copies, or to have their pens mended. When not otherwise occupied, they draw books from the library in the cabin, and read; or if they do not know how, get some one to teach them. Sailors, as a general thing, are ready to avail themselves of any opportunities for mental improvement; and I have no doubt the efforts of the benevolent in supplying ships with good books and tracts, will be attended with great success. Notwithstanding the immorality that is to be so much deplored among seamen, they have generally a respect for religion and its observances. It is very gratifying to take a look at the forecastle upon the Sabbath in pleasant weather. Perfect stillness prevails aboard the ship; no loud talking is allowed, while the 'people,' after washing and dressing themselves neatly, are seated around the forecastle, or upon the windlass, poring over the Bible or some tract.

p. 76: Having always had a *penchant* for medical studies, I brought among my books for the voyage, several works upon medicine, which have been studied with great interest. In several cases of sickness that we have had, Capt. R., has had confidence enough in me to consult me, and very fortunately, in every instance my suggestions have proved successful....

p. 128: With the name of fisherman we are apt to associate ideas of rudeness and ignorance; but as a general fact, the crews of our whalers are fully as intelligent as the average of seamen...most of the crew of whalers are young men, with whom the stirring scenes and dangers of the whaling business have a romantic charm, which comports well with their adventurous spirits. Their officers are many of them scientific navigators....

p. 152, Mr. Freeman's recipe for *duff*: To a quantity of flour, more or less, (*more* would be preferable in Mr. F's opinion,) wet up with equal parts of salt and fresh water and well stirred, add a quantity of 'slush' or lard, and yeast; the mixture to be boiled in a bag, until it can be dropped from the top-gallant cross-trees on deck, without breaking, when it is cooked.

Paddack, William C. *Life on the Ocean, Or Thirty-Five Years at Sea, Being the Personal Adventures of the Author.* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1893).

Captain Paddack from Nantucket spent a long career at sea, first on whaling vessels but mainly on merchant ships sailing throughout the world, including around Cape Horn.

p. 3-4: Between this time and the day appointed for sailing, my mother had provided me with a sea-chest, well stocked with clothing, small stores, books, and such other matters as she thought necessary for my comfort.

p. 20-22, Sunday, August 1, 1847: ...some captains are so conscientious that they will not lower for whales on Sunday. The men occupy their time in reading, smoking, and mending their clothes. If the weather is pleasant, they bring their work and their books on deck, and sit down upon the forecastle and windlass. This is the only day on which these privileges are allowed them.

p. 47, Abington Island enroute to Galapagos: December 14.... This day was spent like all Sundays at sea. The decks were washed down, the rigging all coiled up, and everything put in order. The men were all dressed up in their clean clothes, and occupied themselves in reading, mending their clothes, smoking, etc.

p. 86-87, a burial at sea after a whale kills a sailor by smashing the whaleboat: After the crew assembled, Captain Hussey commenced the reading of the service of the Episcopal Church. There was a moment's pause as he came to the sentence, "We now commit his body to the deep." It was read, a deep splash was heard, and the body of our poor

shipmate sank beneath the blue wave, there to rest until the sea shall give up its dead....

p. 109, Sunday, October 3: A sailor is literally a jack-of-all-trades. On Sundays the men in the fore-castle are at work, some making or mending shoes, some cutting out clothing, hats, and caps; some occupy their time in reading, while others are learning navigation, etc.

p. 129: During the preceding ten days nothing transpired of importance to interrupt the usual monotony resulting from a long spell of fair winds and good weather. But about ten o'clock this morning the cry was heard, "There she blows!"

p. 236: Porpoises and dolphins were continually darting across our bows. There is always something to be seen, and life is never monotonous.

Pierson, John S. *Ship's Libraries; Their Need and Usefulness*. (New York: American Seamen's Friend Society, 1878). 33 p.

p. ?? After you've done everything to assure the physical and spiritual welfare of the sailor, "the only way left to reach him is by the *printed truth*—The Bible, the tract, the good book. Just *here then comes in the ship's library* with its indispensable offices,--the last important advance made in the line of religious work among seamen,--the 'missing link,' I think we may call it, in the chain of evangelical agencies for their benefit."

Poe, Edgar Allan. *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket....* (New York: Library of America, 1984). p. 1003-1182

Fictional account of mutiny on *Grampus*, June 1827, followed by rescue by a whaler which sailed nearly to the South Pole. Very little about books, but the cabin of Pym's friend Augustus contained "a table, a chair, and a set of hanging shelves full of books, chiefly books of voyages and travels" (p. 1021). When Pym, a stowaway, was first hidden before departure he describes his hideaway on p. 1024: "I now looked over the books which had been so thoughtfully provided, and

selected the expedition of Lewis and Clarke to the mouth of the Columbia. With this I amused myself for some time, when growing sleepy, I extinguished the light with great care, and soon fell into a sound slumber.” That seems to be the last mention of books in this exciting and inventive tale.

Robertson, R. B. *Of Whales and Men*. (New York: Knopf, 1954).

A delightful account of a ship’s doctor on an 8-month cruise of a whaling factory ship, with something of a psychological emphasis on the men he was with.

p. 20-21, conversation with a wireless-operator from industrial Ireland, following Robertson’s question of how the young man got involved in whaling: Damn it all, man, my grandfather was chief harpooner of the Arctic, the first whaleship that went through the Davis Strait. When he got back, he put the oar on his shoulder, Odysseus fashion, and marched inland. I reckoned it was time the oar was wetted again.

“You’ve read your Homer, then?” I asked him veiling as best I could the astonishment these whalemens were beginning to produce in me.

“Of course!” He was astonished as I was. “Haven’t you?”

p. 62-63, Robertson at Stromness on South Georgia: wanted to know what there was to amuse and occupy the whalemens, and attend to their health and cultural welfare, when the gratuitous entertainment and recreation provided by nature was denied them.

My two guides looked abashed: there was practically nothing to show. The ‘library’ [at Stromness] consisted of two or three shelves of books provided by that gallant but poverty-stricken organization, the Seaman’s Education Service, and by such funds as the whalemens contributed themselves. ...”

p. 72-73: I demanded more information. I wanted to know about ‘pin-ups,’ masturbation, homosexuality, and all the other sexual outlets and aberrations that I had encountered among bodies of healthy young men isolated in camps and prisons and the like.

My three informants continued their report: ‘Pin-ups’ among the whalemens were few, and, if put up at all, showed fair artistic taste and were seldom simply sexually stimulating and never lewd. On the other hand, there was an insatiable demand among the isolated men for pornographic literature, even to the extent...that some Scottish whalemens would study and learned the Norwegian language simply that they might read with some understanding the Norwegian sex books, which, it was generally agreed, were of a higher or at least more stimulating standard than their own. Masturbation, my informants all agreed, was rampant.

[Goes on to talk of homosexuality (not very visible) and why they collected huge penises of the blue whale: “they make the finest golf bags in the world.”]

p. 83-86, on poetry and prose in whaling literature; says there is little poetry but Eliot’s “third person” in the *Waste Land* is evoked as comparison to Shackleton.

p. 175-6: There were small touches of romance even amid the separating-machinery and the grimy men who worked it. Some of their books showed flashes of it. Mostly they were reading what Gyle called “whodunits” and ‘duzzieshaggers,” two classes of literature which made up the bulk of our ship’s library, but occasionally in a corner of the machinery we would come across a man on a stool reading Shakespeare, or studying paleontology, or learning an obscure foreign language. And I knew at least one whose reading was confined to the Greek classics, and another for whom even ten seasons in the bowels of a factory ship had not destroyed the romance of medieval poetry. He was immersed in *Beowulf* on this occasion when we found him, but cheerfully left that hero awhile to talk to us on whale oil....

p. 186, Christmas conversations: Macdonald and the chief electrician argued the merits of Rudyard Kipling as a poet; and the second radio-operator hauled a copy of the *Golden Treasury* out of his pocket to help them decide on the points at issue. ...

p. 227, Robertson’s advice to future ship’s surgeons: I would advise him to take his own library. He will find many books worth reading in the ship’s small library at his first visit, but he will never see them again,

except in quaint and unexpected places, for he must realize that there are many intelligent and educated men even among the Whaler Group VIII's. I have seen, for example, the ship's only copy of Ibsen's plays lying for weeks, and well read, beside the bed of a fireman/greaser when I visited him to treat his burns.

p. 243—argument over whale vision settled in library.

p. 298-9—likenes whalers to the whales themselves as the motivating force that keeps them going back to whaling.

Skallerup, Harry Robert. *Books Afloat & Ashore: a History of Books, Libraries, and Reading among Seamen during the Age of Sail.* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1974).

p. 4: In 1631, when Captain Thomas James fitted out his vessel in Bristol for a voyage in search of the Northwest Passage, he purchased 'A Chest full of the best and choicest Mathematicall bookes that could be got for money in England; as likewise Master Hackluite and Master Purchase, and other books of Journals and Histories. [see C Miller, ed. *Voyages of Captain Luke Fox of Hull*, Hakluyt Soc. London 1894, p. 265-67, 606 p.]

p. 7: Luke Foxe makes light of his failure to order many books; Frobisher purchased just 8 books for his first journey including travel books and cosmological treatises, and one good practical navigational manual.

p. 15-16: A good look at the contents of a ship's scientific library of this period is afforded in an account of a similar voyage of discovery begun seventeen years after that of the [Cook's] *Endeavour*. The ill-fated expedition of France's Comte de la Pérouse was furnished with a large collection of books at its outset in 1785. Over 119 entries appeared in the catalog of the library which was intended on the voyage 'for the use of the officers and men of science embarked' under the command of La Pérouse. The traditional mariner's choice of voyages, including 'Hawkesworth's Voyages, and Cooks three Voyages, in French and in English' headed the category of books of interest to mariners—astronomy and navigation, which numbered nineteen treatises, not

counting ‘all the usual books of navigation.’ For the scientists, eight titles in physics were listed along with sixty-five in natural history, a category that contained works on science in general, botany, zoology, chemistry, languages, and the *Mémoires de l’Académie des Sciences*.

The example of La Pérouse’s library furnishes also one last observation concerning the early provision of books to seamen, which is rather self-evident. Libraries and book collections at sea, no matter what their content or intended usage, were exposed to an additional destructive hazard not shared by similar collections ashore—shipwreck. La Perouse and his ships, as Carlyle wrote, ‘vanished trackless into blue immensity,’ and so did his books. The library at sea, often formed to serve some temporary expedient, could and did perish even before its fleeting mission was fulfilled. But if the library did survive a long voyage, often the volumes composing it, like the men composing the crew of the ship, might be disbanded and lost sight of forever at journey’s end, or might be recruited again for further service.

[Notes connection between Joseph Banks and Cook—a book collector and explorer working together.]

Stam, David H. “The Lord’s Librarians: The American Seamen’s Friend Society and their Loan Libraries 1837-1967”. *Coriolis: Interdisciplinary Journal of Maritime History* III no. 1 (2012) 59 p. Online through Mystic Seaport.

p. 1 Abstract: "The Lord's Librarians" describes in new detail the activities of the American Seamen's Friend Society in distributing loan libraries to merchant and naval ships for over 130 years. Based on the archives of the Society in the G.W. Blunt White Library at the Mystic Seaport Museum, the study examines the history of the Society in its efforts towards moral improvement of seamen, fostering temperance, reducing licentiousness, encouraging Sabbath worship and observation, countering swearing, and promoting thrift and financial responsibility among sailors. It examines the largely evangelical collection development policies for these compact 40-45 volume library boxes, and attempts to locate the surviving boxes and surviving books from these

libraries. It ends with some unanswered questions which deserve further study.

p. 46: Throughout its long history, the constant purpose of the ASFS was the “moral improvement” of sailors, a goal embedded in its Constitution of 1828. Such an objective required a stereotype of the seaman as dissolute, alcoholic, intemperate, sacrilegious, and licentious. The means of combating these sinful tendencies were fairly obvious to the Society: Temperance pledges; church attendance at Bethel churches ashore and Bethel ships afloat; Sailor’s Homes in frequented ports providing a healthy and nurturing environment away from the ever-present crimps and landsharks preying on seamen; Reading Rooms and libraries filled with uplifting literature in the Sailor’s Homes; Savings Banks to protect seamen’s savings from their vulnerability to theft and their spendthrift excesses ashore; wide distribution of Bibles, Testaments, and religious tracts aboard merchant and naval ships; and not least, the Loan Libraries of the ASFS.

p. 47: The Society archives also record the notable provision of two loan libraries to the 1933 expedition of Richard Byrd. An entry for Sept. 29, 1933, records a fifty dollar donation by: "Rev. George S. Webster D.D. Brooklyn, NY for two libraries for the Byrd Antarctic Expedition." 1933 was the beginning of Byrd’s second expedition to Antarctica, the year of his solo adventure when he spent five solitary months at Advance Base, away from the comforts and company of Little America; when rescued by his men he was close to death by asphyxiation. The experience was the basis of his autobiographical *Alone* (New York: Putnam’s, 1938), where he speaks about the difficulties of concentrating on reading under the conditions he had set for himself. In the extensive literature about that expedition I have seen no references to the ASFS libraries.

The assessment of the reading ability of sailors varies widely. Herman Melville praised their discernment of both good literature and musty tomes, and made special ridicule of Adam

Smith. Nathaniel Ames, as early as 1830, saw sailors everywhere as very fond of reading and better critics of books than widely believed and that their appreciation extended to the books provided by the Bible societies. A century later, Sir Wilfred Grenfell told of his encounter at sea with an old seaman who interrupted his medical ship's voyage, looking not for surgical help but for reading matter. The old man complained that he could get no books in Labrador outports and that he had read the two he had through and through, Plutarch and Josephus, hardly the low-brow fare of an uneducated sailor. Grenfell lent him one of his "moving libraries." [Wilfred Grenfell. *Forty Years for Labrador*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1934, p. 168-69.] A German Moravian minister aboard one of the Franklin Search vessels was gently ridiculed by the Captain for distributing simple-minded tracts: "15 June [1851]: A sailor asked me for a tract, and I distributed among the crew all that I had. On learning of this the captain [Robert McClure of the *Investigator*] laughed heartily and gave it as his opinion that his people were not such simple folk as my Eskimos, etc." These are but a few of many testimonials to the intelligence of the men before the mast.

Vickers, Daniel. "Nantucket Whalemens in the Deep-sea Fishery: the Changing Anatomy of an Early American Labor Force," *Journal of American History* 72 (Sept. 1985) 277-296.

On the whaling journey of the brig *Polley* to West Africa in 1774, and in particular one of its crew, Samuel Atkins, who wrote some poetry about the journey: Steadily the nerves of unlucky whalemens were worn down by loneliness, boredom, and the knowledge that the vessel would have to remain at sea until a reasonable haul of oil had been taken in (p. 278).

p. 279-80 describes a four month period from July to October: Throughout those four months, short bursts of activity interspersed themselves between the longer periods of waiting and watching that had characterized the earlier stretch. Even during this, the most productive part of the voyage, two days in three were filled with nothing but the regular chores ordered by the captain and mate: setting the sails and swabbing the deck; mending the whaleboats, rigging, and spars; and on one occasion careening the vessel and scrapping her hull. Like treading water, such tasks were necessary to the life of the voyage, but they contributed little that was tangible toward its successful completion, nor were they enough to keep thirteen men occupied.

“What filled their minds through the empty hours?” What Vickers suggests is they spent time on journals and diaries, doggerel poetry, and reflection on the pleasures of home and female companionship. The boredom worsened as cruises lengthened from daily offshore cruises, to months, and eventually to years: “The boredom, the discomfort of cramped quarters, the unsavory diet, and above all the restrictions on one’s freedom that spending time at sea entailed could be borne easily enough in small doses, especially when balanced against the exhilaration of the chase. But as the novelty of whaling wore off and as the weeks of confinement gradually turned into months, the sameness of each passing day began to bear heavily on their minds.” (p. 282). The rest of this article is about the economics, and particularly the staffing of the whaling industry.

Webster, George Sidney. *The Seamen’s Friend: a Sketch of the American Seamen’s Friend Society by its Secretary.* (New York: American Seamen’s Friend Society, 1932).

p. 9: NY Bethel Union formed June 4, 1821, modeled on the Bethel Union of London. *Mariners’ Magazine* in April 1825 advocated for a similar society in NY. By then, the *Magazine* said, there were seventy Bethel Unions, 33 Marine Bible societies, and 15 seamen’s churches and floating Bethels.

p. 10: Liverpool Seamen’s Friend Society organized in 1820.

Ch. III: Publications. In addition to its periodicals the Society published hymnals, manuals of divine service. First to publish “Jesus Savior pilot me.”

Ch. VII “Loan Libraries.” Began in England—see first issue of *Sailors’ Magazine* which reported on loan libraries sent on British ships by the Port of London and Bethel Union Society—continued in 20th century by British Sailors’ Society. In US started in 1820s, and then advanced by Dana’s *Two Years before the Mast*. Public “sympathies were awakened in the common sailor, which resulted in the placing of libraries on board vessels sailing from the ports of Boston..., New Haven..., New Orleans..., and New York City. Systematic approach started in March 1859, with careful accounting of every loan library sent out by the Society.”

p. 86: “All the work of the Society is distinctly religious, consequently the loan libraries were at first filled with religious books. For several years these libraries were called ‘Sea Missions.’”

p. 89—between 1861 and 1870 600 conversions of seamen could be traced directly to the reading of these Sea Missions Libraries.

p. 93-97, testimonials to the loan libraries; the chief radio operator of *S.S. Tivives* served as librarian for the ship which had ASFS library No 13490: It affords me the greatest pleasure to be able to thank you for the loan libraries which we receive periodically in a very neat handsome box. I also wish to extend thanks to you and the donors of these splendid books, of every officer and member of the crew of the steamship *Tivives*, as these books are enjoyed and read by all.

Societies like yours are certainly a boon for the men who go down to the sea in ships, for words cannot adequately describe the great comfort, spiritual blessings and enlightenment derived from these excellent books.

p. 94-5, another radio operator aboard *Algonquin* with its Number 13,260, writes: As librarian to the crew I wish to thank you for the library placed on board this vessel last year. At sea a seaman’s pleasures are very limited and the library is always well patronized, the men aboard this vessel are no exception and they derive, have derived and, I hope, will derive much pleasure from the books in the libraries placed on

board by The American Seamen's Friend Society. It has been with great interest that I have watched the liking for books of various persons. Some, and to be exact, most all start reading detective stories and other light reading but gradually acquire a taste for the better class of literature. The selection in your library covers all requirements and to read through one of your libraries is to read selections from almost all subjects. I express the hope of everyone aboard that you will continue to be the Seamen's Friend for many, many years to come.

Op. p. 94 is a photo of "The Sailors' Three Feet of Literature"

Winton, John. *Hurrah for the Life of a Sailor.* (London: Michael Joseph, 1977).

p. 25-26: In July 1838 the Admiralty sanctioned the supply of libraries to sea-going ships. Large ships were issued with 276 books, small ships with 156. The books were mostly religious or of an 'improving' nature. Various societies and private individuals also contributed. As early as 1816 a Lieutenant Baker and a Dr Quarrier supplied the *Leander* frigate, fitting out from Woolwich, with a library of several hundred books. Mrs Elizabeth Fry later persuaded the Admiralty to issue libraries to naval hospitals and to the coastguard.

As a senior rating, John Bechervaise was in a position to see how these reforms were received on the lower-deck. Of the cut of the rum ration he heartily approved. He himself was a teetotaler and although he did not advocate total abstinence throughout the Navy there was no doubt in his mind that the less spirits issued the better. From his own experience, Bechervaise knew of the punishments inflicted, the accidents caused, the opportunities lost, the careers spoiled, on account of drink.

The libraries, too were welcome. Bechervaise served for many years as a petty officer before the libraries were issued. Then, a book was a great rarity on the mess-deck. If any mess had one, it was read and re-read and lent from man to man 'until it became difficult to tell the original colour'. Such books as there were, were 'of a kind that frequently injured rather than improved the morals of men.' In one of his

ships, the *Asia*, Bechervaise was allowed to borrow books from the cabin of one of the lieutenants. 'This indulgence gave me a pleasure I can scarcely describe.' Sometimes, in the dog-watches, Bechervaise sat at the mess table and read to those around him. 'How different it is now: every one can get a book, and read for himself. He can go to the library, take out a volume from a well-selected stock of books, and one day with another at sea, can have three hours to read and improve his mind.' Many of the men took advantage of the chance. 'We have men now in the service, and I could name more than twenty from one ship, who on entering into her did not know one letter in the book; and now within five years, have learned to read, write and cypher merely at their spare time.' Speaking with twenty-two years' experience of the lower-deck, Bechervaise thought he could 'see at a glance the vast improvement that has taken place, both in morals and character.'

Now and again, Bechervaise encountered the hidebound voice of reaction. He once heard an officer of the Old School observe, that the less of education seamen possessed the better were they fitted for the service; for' continued he, 'when they have much learning they are generally great sea-lawyers and on the whole troublesome characters.' Bechervaise answered this with a moderation that does him and the lower-deck of his time the greatest credit. He agreed that the accusation was true in a few cases. But, he said, because a few men were troublesome that was no reason to keep the rest in ignorance and deny them the blessing of being able to read and write. [From Bechervaise, John. *Thirty-Six Years of a Seafaring Life*, by 'An Old Quartermaster. Portsea, UK: Woodward, 1839.]

Global Circumnavigations and Cape Horn Transits

“A principal fruit of these circuits of the globe seems
Likely to be the amusement of those who stay at home.”
Cowper’s Correspondence

Not all circumnavigations of the earth crossed into Antarctica or even neared the Antarctic Circle, though by geographical definition each had to round Cape Horn or navigate the Straits of Magellan. Much of the navigator’s narratives relate to the Southern Seas and islands of the Pacific, some get to the Arctic and/or the Bering Strait, and some include visits to sub-Antarctic islands such as the Falklands and South Georgia. They are included here regardless of whether they have accounts of reading in Antarctica, but we do know that many had extensive libraries available to the officers and men.

1519-22 Spanish Expedition around the World (Ferdinand Magellan commanding *Victoria*, *Trinidad*, and other ships)

Magellan was a Portuguese explorer who began this Spanish voyage, the first circumnavigation of the world, during which he sailed through the eponymous Straits of Magellan, the first Europeans to see Tierra del Fuego. He was killed by native people of the Philippines whom he was actively converting to Christianity.

1577-80 English Expedition around the World (Francis Drake commanding *The Golden Hind*)

Thrower, Norman J. W., editor. *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577-1580*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984).

An handsome volume celebrating the 400th anniversary of Drake’s voyage to New Albion in 1577, a collection of essays by some of the luminaries of geographic and cartographic history in the later 20th

century: John Parry, David Waters, David Quinn, Helen Wallis, and Thrower himself, among others. It is full of puzzles, enigmas, speculations, secrets, etc. There is this intriguing passage at the end of Helen Wallis' substantial and fascinating essay on "The Cartography of Drake's Voyage":

p. 159: In trying to decipher their secrets [Drake's maps] we should remember Raleigh's words: "Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe serve only to mislead such discoverers as rashly believe them, drawing upon the publishers, either some angrie curses, or well deserved scorn, but to keep their owne credit they cannot serue alwaies." Telling the story of Sarmiento's jest, he continues: "But in filling up the blankes of old Histories, we need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time should runne backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our conjectures appear ridiculous."

This is a warning from Drake's own time not to place too much credence on map evidence alone. Filling in the blanks of old histories also has its perils. Time may be reserving some surprises which would reduce our speculations to the level of Sarmiento's painter's wife's island. (see p. 152-53)

p. 6, John Parry essay on "Drake and the World Encompassed," on the trial and execution in Brazil of Thomas Doughty for treason: Doughty, like many others of that time, found it hard to take orders from a social inferior. He was an educated man, clever, carping, essentially destructive. The sailors in the company disliked him and accused him of "conjuring"; he had books in foreign languages with which, they said, he conjured up bad weather. Whether Drake believed this, who can say? Doughty was sacrificed, perhaps necessarily, to the principle of unified command—and no one thereafter questioned Drake's authority.

p. 22-25, David Waters essay on "Elizabethan Navigation": How, aside from the instruction of Cabot and his protégés, did the Elizabethans learn navigation? Some picked it up from renegade Portuguese and Spanish pilots, or from Frenchmen who had acquired it from Portuguese, Spanish, or Italian navigators. During Elizabeth's reign, most learned it by apprenticeship to English masters, who increasingly gained their

knowledge and skill from books related to the art of navigation. More and more such books were written by Englishmen, and in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, waggoners from Holland added to the material available. [A long section on important early navigation publications in England follows.]

p. 31: Although for reasons of state the ways and means by which Drake navigated are not known in detail, and only the memory of the voyage remains, it is possible—as attempted here—to reconstitute the books, charts, and instruments he used with such unprecedented skill and to such great effect.

p. 117, Jewkes: The most interesting thing in this whole patchwork of material is perhaps Burton's note that John Davies of Deptford had some planks from the *Golden Hind* made into a chair, which was presented to the University Library at Oxford. Burton quotes a poem by "a Reverend Poet of this kingdome" entitled "Upon the Poet's sitting and drinking in the chair made out of the Relicks of Sir Francis Drake's Ship"

p. 137, Wallis: The much fuller version of the [Magellan] voyage written by Antonio Pigafetta was produced in four manuscript copies, one in Italian and three in French, presumably for four different patrons. A French version was printed in Paris and appeared sometime between 1526 and 1536. Richard Eden's edition of 1555, or the later Willes edition of Eden, was one of the books Drake took with him on the voyage.

p. 168, Thrower: A high point of the voyage [of a Spanish ship captured by English pirates and renamed *Trinity*] was the capture of a Spanish *derrotero*, or pilot book, by which the English gained secret cartographic intelligence. By sailing south of the Strait of Magellan, Sharp and his crew became the first Englishmen to round Cape Horn from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Some of those who returned to England were tried, but perhaps because of the capture of the *derrotero*, which was of great potential value to the English, they were exonerated.

p. 186-87, Draper: Gomez Rengifo...was carried aboard Drake's ship. He gives an account of his conversations with Drake and reports that Drake read from a book that is presumably Foxe's Book of Martyrs.

1586-88 English Privateering Voyage around the World (Sir Thomas Cavendish aboard *Desire*)

1598

Hawkins, Richard. *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, K^{nt} in His Voyage into the South Sea in the Year 1598.* Edited by C. R. Drinkwater Bethune. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1867).

p. x-xi, quoting from *North West Fox, or Fox from the North-west passage*, London, 1635: And for books, if I wanted any I was to blame, being bountifully furnisht from the treasury with money to provide me, especially for those of study there would be no leisure, nor was there for I found work enough.

p. xi-xii, from the 1631 voyage of Luke Fox aboard the *Charles*, there is this article for civil government on Fox's voyage: That all the whole company, as well officers as others, shall duly repaire every day twice, at the call of the bell, to hear publike prayers to be read (such as are authorized by the Church), and that in a godly and devout manner, as good Christians ought.

1669-71 British Voyage of Exploration to the South Sea (John Narborough aboard *Sweepstakes*)

Narborough's voyage was intended to reach the Pacific but he only reached Port Galant in the Straits of Magellan before turning back in Oct. 1670.

Narborough, John, Sir. *An Account of Several Late Voyages & Discoveries to the South and North towards the Streights of Magellan, the South Seas, the Vast Tracts of Land beyond Hollandia Nova, &c.: also towards Nova Zembla, Greenland or Spitsberg, by Sir John Narborough, Captain Jasmen Tasman, Captain John Wood, and Frederick Martin of Hamburgh....* (London: Printed for Sam Smith and Benj. Walford, Printers to the Royal Society, 1694).

The purpose of this voyage was to establish trading relations between Britain and South America and the South Seas. Narborough did claim for Britain some territory in Argentina, lost some of his men as hostages in Peru, but failed in his primary mission.

Printers dedicated the book to the Honourable Samuel Pepys, Esq. Secretary of the Admiralty of England. Introduction by the booksellers is a capsule history of previous explorations and describes the rest of the book. Four separate voyages, two British, one Dutch, and one German, are covered in the book, two on the South Seas, and two on the Arctic. Narborough on p. 100-01, says he did not want to eat bear flesh because it would turn his hair grey before its time.

1679-91 British Buccaneer Journey (William Dampier aboard *Cygnet* et al)

William Dampier actually circled the globe three times, but he did them piecemeal with various ships and various duties: sailor, buccaneer, privateer, navigator, and explorer, each circumnavigation in multiple ships visiting many places. He achieved literary success with his account of the first of these voyages, a work that went to several editions.

Dampier, William. *A New Voyage Round the World Describing Particularly the Isthmus of America, Several Coasts and Islands in the West Indies, the Isles of Cape Verd, the passage by Terra del Fuego, the South Sea Coasts of Chili, Peru and Mexico, the Isle of Guam One of the Ladrões, Mindanao, and Other Philippine and East-India Islands near Cambodia, China, Formosa, Luconia, Celebes, &c., New Holland, Sumatra, Nicobar Isles, the Cape of Good Hope, and Santa Hellena: Their Soil, Rivers, Harbours, Plants, Fruits, Animals, and Inhabitants: Their Customs, Religion, Government, Trade, &c. by William Dampier; Illustrated with Maps and Draughts.* Three Volumes. (London: Printed for James Knapton ..., 1697-1703). [The following notes are taken from a new edition: New York: Dover, 1968]

p.252-3, in Mindanao: We did all earnestly expect to hear what Captain *Swan* would propose and therefore were very willing to go aboard. But unluckily for him, two days before this Meeting was to be, Captain *Swan* sent aboard his Gunner, to fetch something ashore out of his Cabbin. The Gunner rummaging to find what he was sent for, among other things took out the Captain's Journal from *America* to the island *Guam*, and laid down by him. This Journal was taken up by one *John Read*, a *Bristol* Man, whom I have mentioned in my 4th Chapter. He was a pretty Ingenious young Man, and of a very civil carriage and behavior. He was also accounted a good Artist, and kept a Journal, and was now prompted by his curiosity, to peep into Captain *Swan*'s Journal, to see how it agreed with his own; a thing very usual among the Seamen that keep Journals, when they have an opportunity, and especially young Men, who have no great experience. At the first opening of the Book he light on a place in which Captain *Swan* had inveighed bitterly against most of his Men, especially against another *John Reed* a *Jamaica* Man. This was such stuff as he did not seek after: But hitting so pat on this Subject, his curiosity led him to pry further, to look over at his leisure. The Gunner having dispatch'd his business, lock'd up the Cabbin-door, not missing the Book, and went ashore. Then *John Reed* showed it to his namesake, and to the rest that were aboard, who were by this time the biggest part of them ripe for mischief; only wanting some fair pretence to set themselves to work about it. Therefore looking on what was written in this Journal to be matter sufficient for them to accomplish their Ends, Captain *Teat*, who as I said before, had been abused by Captain *Swan*, laid hold on this opportunity to be revenged for his Injuries, and aggravated the matter to Commander, in hopes to have commanded the Ship himself. As for the Sea-men they were easily perswaded to any thing; for they were quite tired with this long and tedious Voyage, and most of them despaired of ever getting home, and therefore did not care what they did, or whither they went. ...therefore they consented to what *Teat* proposed, and immediately all that were aboard bound themselves by Oath to turn Captain *Swan* out, and to conceal this Design from those that were ashore, until the ship was under Sail.... [Goes onto recount a

successful mutiny that left 36 of the richer men of the ship ashore, many to be poisoned by the natives.]

1698-1701 British South Sea Expeditions (Three Voyages of Edmond Halley aboard the *Paramore*)

Halley, Edmond. *The Three Voyages of Edmond Halley in the Paramore 1698-1701*. Edited by Norman J. W. Thrower. (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1981). [Vol. II is a Portfolio of Maps]

[Note]: Despite an unsuccessful first voyage, Halley retained the confidence of the Admiralty, and his second cruise from September 1699 to September 1700 was successful. He went south as far as 52° into the ice field north of the site of the modern Halley Bay Geophysical Observatory and was in considerable danger, as he was later from a storm off the coast of Africa. (ODNB). Though they were in iceberg infested waters with fogbound conditions, the journals indicate no unusual events.

1708-11 (Woodes Rogers aboard the *Duke and Dutchess*)

Cooke, Edward. *A Voyage to the South Sea, and Round the World, Perform'd in the Years 1708, 1709, 1710, and 1711, by the Ships Duke and Dutchess of Bristol.... In two Volumes*. (London: Lintot and Gosling, M DCC XII).

Rogers, Woodes, Captain. *Cruising Voyage Round the World*. (New York: Dover Publications, 1970). [First published London 1712]

Woodes Rogers' journal is most notable for its account of finding Alexander Selkirk after his four years spent as a desert-island castaway on the Juan Fernandez Islands west of Chile.

p. xiii, Introduction to the Dover edition: "When, however, the turn of the century brought such books as *The Buccaneers of America*, the account of Beauchesne Gouin, and, more particularly, the journals of

Dampier, the English merchants and statesmen began to see what they had missed.” Goes on to describe Defoe’s influence on interests in South Sea commerce.

p. xix: Many of these stories of castaways and shipwrecks, on Juan Fernandez and elsewhere, would have been known to Daniel Defoe, so widely read in the voyage literature of his day.

p. 38: I had *Newhoff’s Account of Brazile* on board,....

p. 90, Jan. 26, 1709: We are very uncertain about the Latitude and Longitude of *Juan Fernandez*, the Books laying ‘em down so differently, that not one chart agrees with another; and being but a small Island we are in some doubts of striking it, so design to hale in for the main Land to direct us.

p. 92, Feb. 2, 1709, on the discovery of Alexander Selkirk: He had with him his Clothes and Bedding, with a Fire-lock, some Powder, Bullets, and Tobacco, a Hatchet, a Knife, a Kettle, a Bible, some practical Pieces, and his Mathematical Instruments and Books. ... [In one of his huts] he slept, and employ’d himself in reading, singing Psalms, and praying; so that he said he was a better Christian while in this Solitude than ever he was before, or than, he was afraid, he should ever be again.

p. 117, April 16: About twelve we read the Prayers for the Dead, and threw my dear Brother overboard, with one of our Sailors, another lying dangerously ill. We hoisted our Colours but half-mast up....

p. 168-69: Aboard the buccaneer bark *Duke*. From a captured Galeon on Gorgona Road near the Gallapagos Islands , July 28, 1709: “We found aboard the Galeon a great Quantity of Bones in small Boxes, ticketed with the names of *Romish* saints, some of which had been dead 7 or 800 Years; with an infinite Number of Brass Medals, Crosses, Beads , and Crucifixes, religious Toys in Wax, Images of Saints made of all sorts of Wood, Stone, and other Materials, I believe in all near 30 Tun, with 150 Boxes of Books in *Spanish, Latin, &c.* which would take up much more Stowage than 50 Tuns of other Goods: All this came from *Italy*, and most from *Rome*, design’d for the Jesuits of *Peru*, but being of small Value to us, we contented our selves to take only a Sample of most Sorts to shew our Friends in *England*, and left the rest.”

1719-22 English Voyage around the World in War with Spanish Crown (George Shelvocke aboard *Speedwell* and other ships)

Sherlock was a privateer and pirate authorized by the Admiralty to attack and plunder Spanish ships in the South Seas, between Peru and China. His account of his circumnavigation is one of intrigue, betrayal, and greed, but apparently he was a model of seamanship and navigation.

Sherlock, George. *A Voyage Round the World by the Way of the Great South Sea, performed in the Years 1719, 20, 21, 22, in the Speedwell of London....* (London: Printed for J. Senex, 1726).

p. 14-15: But having read in *Frezier's* Voyage of the Island of St. *Catherines*, on the coast of *Brazil*, in the Latitude of 27, 30. So. which according to his account, afforded every thing we stood in need of, even without any expense, or, at least, in exchange for salt, which is very valuable there; and this being confirmed to me by one of my Officers...it was indisputably advisable to put in there....

p. 71-72 describes their encounter with Antarctica at 61 deg. 30 min. South Latitude.

p. 73-74, is origin of the story of the superstitious killing of the albatross, by Steven Hatley. Says this became a very melancholy navigation 'by ourselves without a companion,' i.e. the shooting of the albatross.

p. 208, during a shipwreck they were only able to save some of their mathematical books and instruments.

1721-22 Dutch South Seas Expedition to Australia (Jacob Roggeveen with *Den Arend*, *Thienhoven*, and *De Africaansche Galey*)

This voyage was intended to confirm earlier knowledge of the Falklands in its path to Australia. It was too hurried to stop at the Falklands but it did find Easter Island before it reached New Ireland (Papua New Guinea) where Roggeveen's journal ends, 18 July 1722.

p. 64, claims to have reached the latitude of 59° 22' , south of Staten Land on Jan. 10, 1722. A few days later they were below 60 degrees.

p. 72, along coast of Chile: Saw a multitude of cachalots and many seals, but no and, at which we were surprised, because according to the indications of some sea-charts, we had sailed more than a hundred miles over land, and according to other French charts, which place the main coast of Chile more to the east, are today by our position close to land.

p. 89-90, April 5 entry on discovery of Easter Island on Easter Day.

1740-41 English Naval Voyage to the South Seas (aboard Wager)

Bulkeley, John and John Cummings, Gunner and Carpenter of the *Wager*. *A Voyage to the South Seas in His Majesty's Ship the Wager in the Years 1740-1741.* (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1927). [First edition, 1743; Second edition, 1757]

Fascinating account of a shipwreck, a potential mutiny, and a Warrant Officer who took it on himself to advise incompetent officers in how to save the lives of the crew. His advice was dependent upon one volume he borrowed from the ship's Captain.

p. x, in a delightful Introduction written many years later by Arthur D. Howden Smith (1926): But to return to the Honorable John Byron. Of those in the Wager's company, he was the single one destined to immortality, for this and two entirely separate reasons. In the first place, he rose by dint of his own talents to flag rank, and as Vice Admiral commanded the fleet in the action with Count D'Estaing off Granada, July y, 1779; proving himself therein a sea-dog of the old school, whose theory of battle was to make signal for "general chase"—and then trust to luck and his batteries. He was lucky at Granada in having an opponent more inept than himself. But he is enshrined in British naval history by the picturesque cognomen conferred upon him by his sailors, "Foulweather Jack," a tribute to the belief of the Service that he had only to put to sea to stir the elements to their worst. His second claim to memory is that his grandson was a famous—some will have it infamous—poet, who made use of his "Narrative" in shaping a

work called “Don Juan,” and left a fleeting reference to him in “An Epistle to Augusta”:

A strange doom is thy father’s son’s, and past
Recalling, as it lies beyond redress.
Reversed for him our grandsire’s fate of yore,
He had no rest on sea nor I on shore.

I dare swear that Master Bulkeley could have written better verse than that had he put his mind to it—with a trifle of carpentering help from Master Cummins. He was a fellow of infinite wit, this Bulkeley, observant, disputatious and mighty pious. He would crack a joke... or tell his Captain what to do or quote you Thomas à Kempis or beard the Viceroy of the Brazils or restrain a pack of half-starved, ignorant refugees, and all with the sturdy assurance of a man accustomed to wearing a square-skirted coat and a tie-wig and to regarding Lords and Honorbles as being apart. How he sucks up to the Honorable Foulweather Jack, even when disagreeing with that personage, who was all of seventeen at the moment and owned not a tithe of his sea-lore! Which simply proves him the thoroughgoing Britisher that he was. He revered the upper classes, but he was nonetheless prepared to stand upon his rights.

p. 31, Thursday July 30, 1740: Being at the Honourable Mr. *Byron*’s Tent, I found him looking in Sir *John Narborough*’s Voyage to these Seas; this Book I desired the Loan of, he told me it was Captain *Cheap*’s and did not doubt but he would lend it me; this Favour I requested of the Captain, and it was presently granted. Carefully purusing this Book, I conceived an Opinion that our going through the *Streights of Magellan* for the Coast of *Brazil*, would be the only Way to prevent our throwing ourselves into the Hands of a cruel, barbarous, and insulting Enemy.... This Evening Proposals were offered to the Officers concerning our going through the *Streights of Magellan*; which at this Time they seem to approve of.

p. 173: I take this Opportunity, to recommend to the candid reader, the perusal of that excellent Book, entitled, *The Christian Patern, or, the Imitation of Jesus Christ, by Thomas à Kempis*; which Book I brought

with me through the various Scenes, Changes, and Chances of the Voyage, and Providence made it the Means of Comforting me.

1740-44 English Naval Voyage to South Seas and Round the World (under George Anson aboard *Centurion*)

What began as a two-pronged military operation with Anson attacking Spanish ships in the South Pacific was a total military failure, redeemed only by Anson's fortune in capturing a rich westbound Spanish Galleon in the Philippines, selling his prize in China, and then returning to England via the Cape of Good Hope. *Centurion* was the only one of Anson's ships that completed the voyage, though not without its own troubles.

Anson, George. *Anson's Voyage Round the World.* By Richard Walter. A New Edition by G.S. Laird Clowes. (London: Martin Hopkinson, 1928).

Judging from his critiques Anson had books with him, though we don't know how many. He was especially critical of the work of Frazier: p. 91: But to have done with *Frezier*, whose errors, the importance of the subject and not a fondness for caviling, has obliged me to remark, (though his treatment of Dr. *Halley* might, on the present occasion, authorize much severer usage) I must, in the next place, particularize wherein the chart I have here inserted differs from that of our learned countryman. [Goes on to say how he has corrected the charts of Frezier and others.]

Dilworth, H W. *Lord Anson's Voyage Round the World: Performed in the Years 1740, 41, 42, 43, and 44. ...* By H. W. Dilworth. (Boston: Reprinted and Sold by B. Mecom, 1760).

1766-69 French Expedition (Louis-Antoine de Bougainville aboard *Boudeuse*)

After French failure in the Seven Years War ending in 1763, Bougainville and other French explorers turned their strategic planning towards the South Atlantic and the Pacific, including the possibility of establishing a French base in the Falklands and possible settlement by the Acadians exiled from Nova Scotia. Bougainville's involvement in and failure of the French plans for the Falklands, following British and Spanish opposition, provided a stage for his long-wished Pacific journey of 1766 and his circumnavigation.

Bougainville, Louis-Antoine de. *The Pacific Journal of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, 1767-1768.* Translated and edited by John Dunmore. (London: Hakluyt Society, 2002).

p. 7, footnote 1: "Bougainville is fond of sprinkling Latin tags in his text, but he does so from memory and at times misquotes or changes the original. He draws his inspiration here and on a number of other occasions from Virgil's Aeneid and in particular the first book in which a wild storm drives Aeneas and his men off course." [Editor's note]
p. 24-25, 1st (January 1768), upon reading *Relation d'un voyage fait en 1695...par une escadre de vaisseaux du Roy, commandée par M. de Gennes* (1698): The map of the bay and Port Gallant [Galant] reproduced in Mr de Gennes's book is most accurate. The details given in his book on the part of the strait that he saw are thin and of little value to a sailor. The best journal of the strait is Sir Narborough's. It is still instructive, in spite of the Abbé Prévost's attempts to edit it down and disfigure it. Frankly, the way in which fine style writers render sailors' journals is pitiful. They would blush at the stupidities and absurdities they make them say, if they had the slightest knowledge of naval terminology. These authors take great care to cut back every detail that has to do with navigation and that could help guide navigators; they want to make a book that appeals to the silly women of both sexes and end up writing a book that every reader finds boring and no one finds of any use.

p. 27, quotes Psalms 148:8 in Latin.

p. 33: Rereading the passage in Frézier and combining it with the map of the strait that he provides, one can see that Frézier places Elizabeth Bay from where Marcant sailed to enter his channel.... [A.F. Frézier. *A Voyage to the South-Sea and along the Coast of Chile and Peru in the Years 1712, 1713 and 1714*. London, 1717.]

Dunmore, John. *Storms and Dreams. Louis de Bougainville: Soldier, Explorer, Statesman.* (Stroud, Gloucs., UK: Nonsuch, 2005).

An excellent biography of Bougainville and his various campaigns. Obviously a well-educated aristocrat, Bougainville shows little sign of any reading during his long periods at sea.

p. 96: brief note that the French government would provide maps and books relating to routes around Cape Horn for the first expedition, the voyage designed to create a French settlement in the Falklands.

p. 181, gives the quote from Virgil's *Aeneid* which Bougainville put in his journal on entering the Strait of Magellan: "[We enter] the homeland of the clouds, a region pregnant with raging south-easterlies."

1768-71 British Voyage to the South Pacific (aboard *Endeavour* commanded by Captain James Cook)

Cook, Captain James. *The Voyage of the Endeavour 1768-1771*. Edited by J. C. Beaglehole. (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1968).

Captain Cook's first voyage rounded Cape Horn but came no closer to Antarctica. His second voyage was marked by his complete circumnavigation of the Antarctic continent, and his pessimistic statements that no one was likely to get any closer than he did through the impenetrable ice and fog.

p. cxxvii: Cook also had his instructions, duly labelled 'secret', copies of the journal of the recent circumnavigators, and, as we can deduce from his own journal, a small library of voyages and travels and sailing directions for the less unknown parts of the world—Harris, de Brosses,

the *East India Pilot*, the French *Neptune Oriental*; which, with Banks's books, must have occupied no small space in the great cabin.

p. 378: on defective charts.

p. 413-14: more on dangers of bad charts

p. 460-61: how the hardships of such voyages are reported at home.

Cook, James, Captain. *Captain Cook's Journal during his First Voyage round the World Made in H.M. Bark "Endeavour" 1768-71....*
Edited by Captain J. L. Wharton. (London: Elliot Stock, 1893).

p. x: In reading Cook's Journal of his First Voyage it must be remembered that it was not prepared for publication. Though no doubt the fair copies we possess were revised with the care that characterizes the man, and which is evidenced by the interlineations and corrections in his own hand with which the pages are dotted, it may be supposed, from the example we have in the published account of his Second Voyage, which was edited by himself, that further alternations and additions would have been made, to make the story more complete, had he contemplated its being printed.

p. 379-80, April 20, 1771: Thus we find that Ships which have been little more than 12 months from England have suffer'd as much or more by Sickness than we have done, who have been out near 3 Times as long. Yet there sufferings will hardly, if at all, be mentioned or known in England; when, on the other hand, those of the *Endeavour*, because the Voyage is uncommon, will very probable be mentioned in every News Paper, and what is not unlikely, with many Additional hardships we never Experienced; for such are the disposition of men in general in these Voyages that they are seldom content with the Hardships and Dangers which will naturally occur, but they must add others which hardly ever had existence but in their imaginations by magnifying the most Trifling accidents and circumstances to the greatest Hardships and unsurmountable dangers without the immediate interposition of Providence....

1776-80 British Voyage to South Sea Islands and the Pacific Northwest (aboard *Resolution* and *Discovery* commanded by Captain James Cook)

Cook, James, Captain. *The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776-1780*. Edited by J. C. Beaglehole. Two volumes. (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1967).

These volumes cover Cook's attempt on his third voyage at finding the Northwest Passage from the west but ending in his death. Included in the volume are the surviving journals of officers of the expedition, including various descriptions of the death of Cook.

p. lxxxix-xc [Introduction]: Burney's remarks on [John] Ledyard are interesting, and so, in that context, is his reference to the weekly papers produced in the ships. 'With what education I know not, but with an ardent disposition, Ledyard had a passion for lofty sentiment and description. When corporal of marines on board the *Resolution* after the death of Captain Cook, he proffered his services to Captain Clerke to undertake the office of historiographer to our expedition, and presented a specimen, which described the manners of the Society islanders, and the kind of life led by our people whilst among them. ... Literary ambition and disposition to authorship led us in each ship to set up a weekly paper. When the paper in either ship was ready for delivery, a signal was made, and when answered by a similar signal from the other ship, Captain Cook, if the weather was fine, would good-naturedly let a boat be hoisted out to make the exchange, and he was always glad to read our paper, but never favoured our editors with the contribution of a paragraph. I believe none of these papers have been saved, nor do I remember by what titles we distinguished them. Ledyard's performance was not criticized in our paper, as that would have entitled him to a freedom of controversy not consistent with military subordination. His ideas were thought too sentimental, and his language too florid. No one, however, doubted that his feelings were in accord with his expressions....' —*North-Eastern Voyages*, pp.280-1. [James Burney: *A*

Chronological History of North-Eastern Voyages of Discovery, 1819.]
Exciting and tantalizing glimpse! What would we not give for a single number of either of those weekly sheets! What wealth of literary conjecture, even with Cook's abstention, the fleeting vision opens to us. [J.C. Beaglehole comment. Burney was a First Lieutenant on the *Discovery*.]

p. 1499-1500, 25 May 1775, "A List of Instruments Books, &^{ca} ordered to be delivered to Captain Cook.—"....:

- 3 Books of Folio Tables of Refraction & Parallax
- 2 Mayes Tables
- 2 Heselden's Seaman's daily Assistant
- 1 Nautical Almanac of 1769, 1772, & 1773
- 6 D°..... 1776, 1777, & 1778
- Gardiner's Logarithms (4^{to}) printed at Avignon
- 3 Variation Charts
- 2 Senex's Maps of the Zodiac
- French Ephemeris, in 4^{to}, from 1775 to 1785
- 12 Tables of Moon's distances from Sun & Stars
- 2 Nautical Almanacs 1771

1785-88 French Circumnavigation (Jean-François de Galaup, comte de Lapérouse, aboard *Boissole* and *Astrolabe*) Disappeared in South Pacific in 1788.

1785-88 British Exploring Circumnavigation to Northwest Pacific (Captain Portlock aboard the *King George* and George Dixon aboard *Queen Charlotte*)

Dixon, George. *A Voyage Round the World; but More Particularly to the North-West Coast of America: Performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, in The King George and Queen Charlotte, Captains Portlock and Dixon.* (London: George Goulding, 1789).

Not clear who is writing these letters, signed as W.B., since they refer to Dixon. Dixon's Introduction describes the author as "a person aboard the Queen Charlotte, who has been totally unused to literary pursuits, and equally so to a sea-faring life" (p. xxii). Some editions show Portlock as the author.

p. 17, October 1785: I must inform thee that we keep the Sabbath-day in a decent and orderly manner; all hands appearing, as the Spectator says of country villages on the same occasion, "with their cleanest looks and best cloaths, clearing away the rust of the week," and employ themselves in reading good books, no duty being carried on that can be avoided.

p. 45, between Falklands and Staten Island, transcribes passage in 107th Psalm about those who go down to the sea in ships.... He scarcely mentions anything about rounding the Horn and is soon in the Sandwich Islands, and not long after in Alaska.

1791-95 English Exploring Expedition to North Pacific and Round the World (George Vancouver commanding aboard *Discovery* with *Chatham*)

Vancouver, George, Captain. *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World... Performed in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794 and 1795, in the Discovery Sloop of War, and Armed Tender Chatham.* A New Edition... in Six Volumes. (London: John Stockdale, 1801).

Heald Sale Catalog of December 2017 lists this copy: "One of the most important [voyages] ever made in the interests of geographical knowledge" (Hill). This copy from the on-board library of the USS *John Hancock* during its mid-19th century exploration of the Pacific."

Volume I:

p. xxviii, at end of introduction with final orders on disposition of logs and journals, etc.:... taking care, before you leave the sloop, to demand from the officers, and petty-officers, the log-books, journals, drawings, . they may have kept, and to seal them up for your inspection; and

enjoining them, and the whole crew, not to divulge where they have been until they have permission so to do....

Volume II:

p. 459-60, when with a very apprehensive fellow traveler in the South Sea Islands: We were however soon alongside, and our friend was by no means reluctant to leave the boat; when on board the ship he soon recovered from his former apprehensions of danger, yet the absence of his books was still a matter of regret and vexation that he could not overcome; and unfortunately it was out of our power to offer him any consolation, as those we had on board were in a language he did not understand. His servants being aware of the uneasiness which the want of these religious comforts would occasion their master, came on board in the evening with the bible and prayer-book, without either of them having been wetted by the waters of the ocean, to preserve them against which had been an object of much care and attention.

1793-96 British Officer Voyage, Shipwreck of *America* and Survival (Captain David Woodard)

Woodard, David. *The Narrative of Captain David Woodard and Four Seamen, who Lost Their Ship while in a Boat at Sea, and Surrendered Themselves up to the Malays, in the Island of Celebes; ...Holding Out a Valuable Seaman's Guide...* . (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1804).

Introduction by William Vaughan is a veritable guide to reading for seamen. On January 20, 1793, Woodard, an English officer, “sailed as chief-mate in the American ship *Enterprise*, captain Hubbard, from Batavia, bound to Manila” (p. 2). In seeking provisions, Woodard in a small rowing boat with sail, and with five other sailors, was soon separated from his ship with no water, food, or compass. After other misadventures they fought with some Malays who killed one of their men and then stole the boat, leaving five men stranded and fleeing into the jungle. The Narrative is the rest of the story, plus a series of appendices telling other shipwreck tales.

p. xviii-xix: It may not be deemed perhaps out of line of my object, to recommend the perusal of two books that contain much practical as well as scientific information, to those who frequent the sea, and who wish to rise in their profession.

The first is Robinson Crusoe; which, although a fiction, is founded upon a true story of Selkirk. It shows a great knowledge of nature... . When Mr. Moore, the late secretary of the Society of Arts and Manufacture, when asked which was the best book on farming, he answered,—“ Robinson Crusoe: and that it was translated into more languages, and had done more good in giving conduct to life, than most books.”—It may be said with much truth and justice, that it has been the cause of making many seamen, and good seamen; and of calling into activity all the powers and resources of mind and body; and will be for ever read with amusement and instruction.

The second book should be every young man’s companion who wishes to make the sea his profession, and promotion in that line his object. It is *Robertson’s Navigation*, which is justly esteemed the seaman’s library.

To these may be added *Hutchinson’s Marine Architecture and Seamanship*; which contains instructions, derived from long experience, for the management of a ship in a great variety of difficult and dangerous situations. It is a very valuable book, and contains knowledge, entertainment, and science, drawn from experience and practical observations. ... The seaman who makes himself master of these two books, cannot fail of rising in his profession.

p. xxi: Misfortunes, if rightly applied, may prove useful sources of knowledge. Books containing the histories of accidents and shipwrecks have now become numerous; and are so dispersed, as to want some of their most prominent points drawn more to a kind of focus, that may serve for examples to direct the conduct of men who have neither leisure to read, nor purse to procure them.

p. xxvi-xxvii, on Captain Kennedy’s recommendation that men in open boats suggest they soak clothes in salt water twice daily in salt water and not wring them out: ... he imputed the preservation of his own life, and the lives of six others who survived their hardships of hunger, thirst, and

cold, to this precaution; and that he took the hint from a treatise of Dr. Lind's, which, he says, should be read by all sea-faring men.

p. xxxiv: The effects of *hunger and thirst* are greatly overcome, when the *apprehensions* about them are banished: and we find that captains; Inglefield, Bligh, and Woodard, always discouraged despondency; and by giving other pursuits to the human mind, men were frequently diverted from gloomy objects; and when thus roused, they have often been strong enough to surmount the greatest difficulties. We often see men with courage braving danger in battles and enterprises, and risking life to save a life or a wreck; but when self-wrecked, until roused, they are often apt to sink into despondency, from the want of labour and self-exertion. He used no exercise, slept but little, and spent most of the night in reading.

p. 157-236: Appendix. Advertisement. This Appendix only professes to give short abstracts of some remarkable cases applicable to the object of this collection, to show the frequency and extent of abstinence, and the importance of perseverance and subordination in moments of distress. [There are 22 numbered appendices, followed on p. 237-51 by "A List of a Number of Accidents, Shipwrecks, and Escapes...."]

p. 166-67, Appendix. (No. II.), a riveting account of the process of selection of a candidate for suicide and cannibalization when all provisions were exhausted from the shipwrecked boat. This Appendix is an extract from the *Calcutta Gazette* of 8th July, 1802, describing the "suffering of some deserters" from the island of St. Helena. It includes an account of eating shoes for nourishment, but does not seem to indicate why M'Kinnon wished to be the first to die.

" 'On the 5th [July], about eleven, M'Kinnon proposed, *that it would be better to cast lots for one of us to die, in order to save the rest*; to which we consented. The lots were made—William Parr, being sick two days before with the spotted fever, was excluded. He wrote the numbers out, and put them in a hat, which we drew out blindfolded, and put them in our pockets. Parr then asked whose lot it was to die—none of us knowing what number we had in our pockets—each one praying to God that it might be his lot. It was agreed that No. 5 should die, and the lots being unfolded—M'Kinnon's was No. 5.

“ ‘We had agreed, that he whose lot it was should *bleed himself to death*; for which purpose we had provided ourselves with nails sharpened, which we got from the boat. M’Kinnon with one of them cut himself in three places in his foot, and wrist, and praying God to forgive him, died in about a quarter of an hour.

“ ‘ Before he was quite cold, Brighthouse with one of those nails cut a piece of flesh off his thigh, and hung it up, leaving his body in the boat. About three hours after, we all ate of it—only a very small bit. This piece lasted us until the 7th

p. 169: “In attending to the above narrative, as simple as it is affecting, we cannot help noticing the justice of Providence. So strikingly exemplified in the melancholy fate of M’Kinnon, the deluder of these unhappy men, and the victim of his own illegal and disgraceful scheme. May his fate prove a *memento* to soldiers and sailors, and a useful, though awful, lesson to the encouragers and abettors of desertion!”

p. 227-28, Appendix. (No. XX), an account of a young man, suffering from indigestion “resolved to cure himself by indigestion,” in effect starving himself to death”: He had undertaken in his retirement to copy the Bible in short-hand, with short arguments prefixed to each chapter. He showed to the doctor the work executed nearly as far as the Second Book of Kings, and that he had made some improvements in short-hand writing. [He died a month later.]

p. 252: Books Useful to Seamen

Robinson Crusoe.

Robinson’s Navigation. Hutchinson’s Marine Architecture
and Seamanship.

Lind on Warm Climates, and Diseases of Seamen.

**1801-03 French Exploring Expedition to South Seas and Terra
Australis (Captain Nicolas Baudin aboard *Géographe*)**

**1801-03 English Exploring Expedition to Terra Australis (Captain
Matthew Flinders aboard *Investigator*)**

These two expeditions are inextricably linked both by chronology and collaboration, even though England and France were then at war and were susceptible to conflicting territorial motivations. Both were scientific in nature and in that sense cooperative. Baudin had great troubles with his French officers, and when he died in 1803 the commander transferred to Freycinet (see 1817 below).

Baudin, Nicolas. *The Journal of Post Captain Nicolas Baudin, Commander-in-Chief of the Corvettes Géographe and Naturaliste.* Assigned by the Order of the Government to a Voyage of Discovery. Translated from the French by Christine Cornell. (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1974).

This is a magnificent edition of Baudin's expeditionary journal in English translation, including listings of the exploration books on each of the two vessels. There is nothing that I could easily find in this journal about any reading of those books, though there seem to have been no natural occasions for such reading, e.g. a winterover.

p.380, following Baudin's meeting with Matthew Flinders: Before we separated, Mr. Flinders gave me several charts published by Arrowsmith since our departure.

For books sent on this voyage see "Expedition Libraries—Baudin" in the Polar Libraries folder of My Documents, listings from p. 592-93.

Péron, François, continued by Louis de Freycinet. *Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Lands.* Second Edition 1824. Translated from the French by Christine Cornell. Introduction by Anthony J. Brown. [Two volumes, plus Atlas]. (Adelaide, Australia: Friends of the State Library of South Australia, 1824).

To coin a phrase, this could be called a French semi-circumnavigation, from France and back via the Cape of Good Hope. Originally commanded by Nicolas Baudin who died during the

expedition, he was replaced by Louis de Freycinet. Curiously Baudin is never mentioned by name in the book (illustrating Péron's contempt) and his role was widely regarded by the men as a negative one. These volumes are less an official record of the voyage than Péron's personal account of his naturalist studies framed by the places which they visited.

The ships *Géographe* and *Naturaliste* left Le Havre on Oct. 19, 1800 and returned on 1803. Although signed on as a zoologist, Péron took on studies in a number of fields of natural history including the temperature of the sea at various depths, the salinity of the sea, and the nature of phosphorescence. He backs up his studies with citations to his sources, though seldom indicating his use of the books during the voyage.

Volume I:

p. 7: Nothing had been neglected in order for the provisioning to be plentiful and of good quality.... [including] a well-stocked library, consisting of the best works on sailing, astronomy, geography, natural history and travels, had been created for each ship.

p. 13-14, from the outset Péron is sensitive to the literature related to places visited on the voyage such as famous classical authors from Horace to Tasso who had described the Canary Islands in idealistic ways, as well as more modern works that were more realistic about the islands (see Appendix C, p. 21).

Volume II continues the natural history account of the Nicolas Baudin's voyage to New Holland and the South Seas, with a second introduction by Anthony Brown which neatly summarizes the return journey. It includes a final visit to Cape Town and a fascinating description of Hottentot steatapidgia.

Flinders, Matthew. *Matthew Flinders Private Journal, from 17 December 1803 at Isle of France to 10 July 1814 at London.* Edited and with an Introduction by Anthony J. Brown and Gillian Dooley. (Adelaide, NSW, Australia: Friends of the State Library of South Australia, 2005).

Captain Matthew Flinders RN (16 March 1774 - 19 July 1814) was an English navigator and cartographer, who was the leader of the first circumnavigation of Australia and identified it as a continent. Flinders made three voyages to the southern ocean between 1791 and 1810. In the second voyage, George Bass and Flinders confirmed that Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania) was an island. In the third voyage, Flinders circumnavigated the mainland of what was to be called Australia, accompanied by an Aboriginal man, Bungaree. (From ABEBooks description, retrieved 5/14/17, of another Flinders work.

Flinders kept this journal on Mauritius when he was imprisoned there by the French from whom he had expected safe passage after his successful survey of Australia. France and England had declared war after his safe passage was issued. The journal continues from his return to England in 1810 until shortly before his death in London in 1814. No earlier journals survive.

Flinders arrived in Mauritius unaware that Britain and France were then at war, and Captain General Dacean there considered his papers no longer valid, placing Flinders under detention and depriving him of his charts and books. The last half of December 1803 Flinders spent mainly writing letters to get those materials back so that he might continue his work even under imprisonment and isolation from all but a surgeon and interpreter. He was removed to a "garden prison" at the end of March, but still without his books (p. 29).

p. 33, a characteristic passage dated Wednesday 16 to Friday 18 May: My time is now employed as follows. Before breakfast my time is devoted to the latin language, to bring up what I formerly learned. After breakfast I am employed making out a fair copy of the *Investigators* log in lieu of my own which was spoiled at the shipwreck. When tired of writing, I apply to music, and when my fingers are tired with the flute, I write again until dinner. After dinner we amuse ourselves with billiards until tea, and afterwards walk in the garden till dusk. From thence to supper I make one of Playels quartettes; afterwards walk half an hour and then sleep soundly till daylight when I get up and bathe. Thus although the captain general keeps the log book I want and will not allow me my charts and papers to finish up my accounts of the

Investigators voyage which of all things I am most anxious to do, yet my time does not pass wearily or uselessly run.

p. 44-45: Tuesday 11 September Not having been able to see the Town Major, I intended writing to the general today, to mention the circumstance and manner of my sword being taken; and to request that Mr Aken and me might now have the same advantage as other prisoners of war in being exchanged by the first cartel; but on further consideration I judged it better not to do it, since he might possibly say, Oh Sir, if you consider yourself to be a prisoner of war, you have no right to keep possession of your books and charts. I can place no reliance upon either the humanity or justice of the captain-general, for his violence will get the better of them all; and to lose my charts and books would be a more dreadful blow than even being made a prisoner was at first.

p. 75-78, Journal of Sunday 18 August, Maison Despaux 1805: Elder not being returned from the Bazar, read five pages in Condamines voyage down the river of Amazonas from Quito to Para [Charles-Marie de La Condamine, *Journal du voyage fait par order due roi, à l'equateur* (Paris, 1851)]. Think Condamines calculation of the level of the river at Pauxis being only ten feet and a half higher than at Para, more than 200 leagues lower down, to be incorrect....

Find myself better this morning than usual, and less head ach. Took up my flute and played the 1st and 5th Duo of Pleyels opera 9. Note, the first commences in a grand stile, and is sweetly plaintive in some parts of it. The Andante of the 5 is marked for minuet time, whereas the time is 2/4. Must have all of Pleyels music when I return to England, that is set for the flute, and Mozarts, and Haydns, and some of Hoffmeisters and Deviennes, but the whole will be too expensive, musick is so very dear in England; and indeed so is almost everything else.

Ten o'clock. Sat down to my writing. Transcribed four pages of the chapter in my log book upon the state of the barometer upon the different coasts of Australia, into a letter to Sir Joseph Banks for the Royal Society. Found a giddiness and an aching in my head: left off writing, and walked backwards and forwards in my room. Think I have

advanced rather too much of my own opinions in this letter, and wish I had confined myself more closely to the facts; but think Sir Joseph will strike out what he thinks is incorrect. Hope he will be alive and well when I return, but he is now advancing in years.

p. 95, at Plaines Wilhems 1805: Wednesday 2 October...—My time at present is partly employed in reading French books (La Fontaine and Voltaire) and in writing the second volume of my log book for the admiralty.

p. 95-96, Friday 4 October: I cannot say that, at present, I am very unhappy. Time has soffened my disappointments. I have my books, am making acquisitions in knowledge, enjoy good health, and innocent amusements for which I have still a relish...and to this I add, with heart-felt pleasure, that the consciousness of being perfectly innocent of anything, that ought to have caused the suspicions that have been or are entertained against me. I fear no discovery, on the thorough examination of my papers or myself. I have nothing to hide.

p. 144, at Plaines Wilhelms 1806: Monday 17 November These few days I have occupied myself with reading Forsters voyage to the north, and with making a sketch of my limits; a copy from a chart of the island, which however is very imperfect. [The John Reinhold Forster volume was *History of the Voyages and Discoveries Made in the North* (London, 1786).]

p. 155, at Plaines Wilhems Sunday 22 February 1807: Employed writing up the 7th chapter of my journal; and otherwise in teaching the first principles of navigation to my two young friends, giving lessons in English to two of our young ladies, and in French to my servant; besides I am making a little, but very little progress in French, by reading a new history of Russia under the correction of the two young ladies, and by myself La Harpes voyages [*L'abrégé de l'histoire générale des voyages*... (Paris 1780-1801)], and the *Emile* of Rousseau, and occasionally in translating into French the History of my cat, Trim. These varied amusements keep my mind in action, and preserve it in peace.

Wednesday 25 February At daylight the wind was at S.W. but not so strong as before. I found my books and papers which had been placed in what I thought a secure place, more or less wet.

p. 178, at Plaines Wilhelms 1807, Monday 24 August: In the afternoon went to Mr Monistrol, who had gone out; but he soon after sent for me and I received the trunk containing my books and papers, which I had carried immediately to my lodgings. The third volume of my log book was retained in order to have some abstracts made from it, after which it was to be given to me. The two boxes containing the despatches of governor King and colonel Paterson, were altogether refused me, but Mr Monistrol promised to give me a certificate of refusal....

Tuesday 25 August Opened my trunk of books, in which I found the rats had made great havoc, particularly amongst the letters.

p. 180, at Plaines Wilhelms 1807, Friday 4 September... Walked to the Baye du Tamarin with Mr C. Deb. Where we read a part of St. Pierre's *Etudes de la Nature*, the most superficial work that I have ever read; more false systems supported by disguised facts were perhaps never before hazarded in public: his style is said to be very attractive and to have seduced many to the adoption of his opinions.

p. 192, at Plaines Wilhelms 1807: Wednesday 18 November set off with the intention of passing two days with Mr Froberville at Mocha. Made the long tour, passing near the Reduit and the lower part of Moka.

Arrived at noon. During the two days I passed there, read the first volume of the *Tableau de Paris* of M. [Louis] le Mercier, and a part of the history of Ratsimalao chief of the north-eastern part of Madagascar. He put into my hands three quires of that history, four quires containing three voyages of M. Mayeur in the north, the south, and the interior of Madagascar, and three quires of *Researches into the history &^c of Madagascar*, with full authority to do with them as I thought good, either by taking them to France to his brother in case of my being sent there, making a translation of the whole, or of the history only, and publishing it in England, or returning it to him if I did not chuse to engage in the work.... Having thrown it totally aside, he immediately complied with my proposition of making a translation and publishing it should it appear to me sufficiently interesting.

p. 203, at Plaines Wilhelms 1808: Friday 19 February:... In my reading having finished 5 volumes of Le Vaillant's travels in the southern part of Africa, began *Le Traité élémentaire de Phisique* by M. [René Just] Haüy. [(Paris, 1803).]

p. 205: Saturday 5 March My light reading consists of the adventures of *Gil Blas* and [Histoire de] *Gusman l'Alfarache* in French.

p. 214, at Plaines Wilhems 1808: Saturday 14 May ... Still employed with the magnetism of the earth: my reading, Barrow's travels at and account of the Cape of Good Hope, [in the] French translation of Grandpré. [Flinders finished the Barrow on 17 May.]

p. 248, at Plaines Wilhems 1809, Friday 24 March: A new Atlas of charts historic and geographic has been published in France by Le Sage, in which the parts of the south coast of Australia lately made known, are entitled Discoveries of M.M. Flinders and Baudin. This is all I am able to learn from my correspondent. [Alain René Le Sage. *Atlas historique, généalogique, chronologique et géographique* (Paris, 1802 etc)

p. 253, at Plaines Wilhems 1809: Monday 24 April: Passed the whole of the day at home: Reading Sonnini's voyage (Egypt) English translation [Charles Sonnini. *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*. 3 vols. (London, 1799)], and Philador on the game of chess [François Philador. *Analyse du jeu des échecs* (1749, 2nd edn., 1777).

p. 254, at Plaines Wilhems 1809: Sunday 30 April: ... Finished an history of China and of L. Macartney's embassy in English [see footnote 230]; and began Le Sage's *adventures of don Cherabin de la Ronda, batchelor of Salamanca* in French [Alain-René Le Sage, *Le Bachelier de Salamanca* (Paris, 1808)].

p. 256, at Plaines Wilhems 1809: Wednesday 10 May ... Reading *the secret history of the court and Cabinet of St. Cloud* [footnote 232: by Stewarton, *Gentleman at Paris, to a Nobleman in London* (London, 1806).] Rec^d 5 numbers of the *Monthly Repertory* up to October 1808, which I judge my friend Pitot has received by the *Gazelle*.

p. 290, at Plaines Wilhems 1809: Monday 25 December... Employed as usual in spheric trigonometry with my young ladies and in reading Calcutta gazettes.

Saturday 30 December... My own employments since the arrival of La Henriette cartel has mostly been to read newspapers sent to me by Mr Pitot, a volume of the *Edinburg review* for 1808, and Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV*, followed by that of his successor.

[During early 1810 his reading seems mostly devoted to English journals and newspapers.]

p. 296-97, at Plaines Wilhems 1810: Thursday 15 February... Rec^d 6 months (the first of 189) European magazines left me by captain Lynne. My friend Pitot, who hoped to have the voyage of Baudin amongst other books on board *La Fantone* at Bourbon, says, that his correspondent writes, that only one volume of it had been published: this was in Sept^r last. Nothing is yet known of the purpose for which *La Mouche* No. 27 was sent here in such haste from France: The gazette announces Peace between France and Austria.

p. 313, at Port Napoléon 1810: Monday 11 June Calm with warm weather. Reading Mr [William] Marsden's *history of Sumatra* [London, 1784] and studying the Malay language.

p. 319, at Cape of Good Hope 1810: Wednesday 25 July ...Dined with Mr and Mrs Pringle; then read the *African researches* till bed time....Thursday 26 July ...Reading the *African researches* till 4....

p. 320: Sunday 29 July Rainy during the night and this morning. Reading the *Memoires* of La Bourdonnais.

Monday 30 July Reading he little novel of *Alfred*, which I came across this evening [Albrecht von Haller... published in French as *Alfred, roi des Anglo-Saxons* (Lausanne, 1775).]

p. 321: Saturday 4 August... Reading Pratts' Gleanings. [Unidentified—several editions.] Monday 6 August... Called upon Mr Hill, commissary general, and on Mr Pringle, from whom I got three numbers of late *Edinburg Reviews*.

Flinders Private Journal from Cape Town ends on Wednesday 22 August 1810 as he is about to sail for England. It continues in England from October 1810 until his death in 1814. There are no entries for his sea passage of Sept./Oct. 1810, and his reading in England from October 1810 until July 1814 does not concern us here.

There are several more references to books read during his imprisonment and beyond. What is striking is the speed with which French books were available in the remote outpost of Mauritius.

p. 25 etc.: *Steel's Original and Correct List of the Royal Navy...* (published monthly). See Index for other uses.

p. 198: Louis Sébastien Mercier. *Tableau de Paris*; Dieudonné Thiébault. *Mes souvenirs de vingt ans de séjour à Berlin* (Paris, 1804); François Vaillant. *Voyage de Monsieur Le Vaillant dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique...* (Paris, 1790).

p. 208: Vivan Denon. *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte pendant les campagnes du générale Bonaparte* (Paris, 1802); Jean-Baptiste-Barthelemy de Lesseps. *Journal historique du voage M. de Lesseps, consul de France, employé dans l'expédition de M. le comte de la Pérouse...* (Paris, 1790) [Lesseps is remembered for delivering Pérouse's logbook through Russia to Paris in 1788].

p. 215: William Coxe. *Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America*. (London, 1780).

p. 230: Frederick von Matthison. *Letters Written from Various Parts of the Continent, between the years 1785-1799*. Paris, 1799).

p. 241: *Journal de L'Empire* (1807); Jean-Pierre Ramel. *Journal de l'Adjudant-général Ramel...* (London, 1799).

p. 242: *Mercures de France* 1807.

p. 250: Madame de Staël. *Emile*. (A new novel, 1809).

p. 258: Conrad Malte-Brune. *Annales des voyages...* (Paris, 1807-14).

p. 266, 267, 275: Jean Charles D. de Lacretelle. *Précis historique de la Révolution française: Directoire sciéntif* (Paris, 1806); Jean Paul Rabaut Saint-Etienne. *Précis historique de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1792-1806) (continued by Lacretelle).

p. 269: James Burney. *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean* (London, 1803-).

p. 296: *Naval Chronicle*. See index for further entries.

p. 296, 97: Victorine de Chasteney. *Du Génie des peuples anciens...* (Paris, 1808).

- p. 310. John Robison. *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe carried on in the Secret Meetings of Freemasons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies*. (London, 1797).
- p. 347: Nathan Pinckney. *Travels through the South of France* (London, 1809).
- p. 352: John Hunter. *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island...* (London, 1804); William Robert Broughton. *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean* (London, 1804); Charles François Tombe. *Voyage aus Indes Orientales, pendant les années 1802....* (Paris, 1811). Flinders borrowed these three volumes from Sir Joseph Banks.
- p. 358: Alexander Dalrymple. *A Collection of Plans of Ports in the East Indies* (London, 1786-7); David Collins. *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* (London, 1798); D. Mann. *The Present Picture of New South Wales* (London, 1811). Borrowed from Banks.
- p. 361: Charles de Brosses. *Terra Australis Cognita* (Edinburgh, 1766-8); Joseph Harris *A Treatise of Navigation* (London, 1730). Borrowed from Banks.
- p. 362: William Bampton. Copy of his journal survey of Torres Strait in 1793; Jean de Thévenot. Map of Australia. Borrowed from Banks.
- p. 363: Abel Tasman. The Voyage of Abel Tasman for the Discovery of Southern Countries (London, 1808-). Borrowed from Banks.
- p. 366: Gerard Van Keulen, translation of part of his book of charts, found at Banks library; James Burney. *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean*. Vol. 1 (London, 1803); John Rotz. *The Maps and Text of the Booke of Idrography Presented by Jean Rotz to Henry VIII* (1542), in the British Museum.
- p. 367: François Valentijn. *Verhandeling der zee-horenkens en zee-gewassen in en omtrent Amboina de naby gelegene eylanden....* (Dordrecht, 1726).
- p. 369: George Mortimer. *Observations and Remaks Made During a Voyage to the Islands of Teneriffe...in the Brig Mercury Commanded by John Henry Cox* (London, 1791). Borrowed from Banks.

p. 383: George Hamilton. *A Voyage round the World in His Majesty's Frigate Pandora...* (Berwick, 1793). Borrowed from Banks.

p. 396: James Grant. *The Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery...to New South Wales* (London, 1803).

p. 470: *Philosophical Transactions*.

Flinders, Matthew. *A Voyage to Terra Australis; Undertaken for the Purpose of Completing the Discovery of that Vast Country, and Prosecuted in the Years 1801, 1802, and 1803, in His Majesty's Ship the Investigator....* In Two Volumes, with an Atlas. (London: Printed by W. Bulmer./and Published by G. and W. Nicol, 1814).

p. 5-6: On the 22nd [1801], a set of astronomical and surveying instruments, for the use of myself and officers, was sent down by direction of the Navy Board, as also various articles for presents to, and barter with, the native inhabitants of the countries to be visited, and many for our own use and convenience. Amongst the latter were most of the books of voyages to the South Seas, which, with our own individual collections, and the Encyclopedia Britannica, presented by the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, formed a library in my cabin for all the offices. Every chart at the Admiralty, which related to Terra Australis and the neighbouring islands, was copied for us under the direction of the late hydrographer, Alexander Dalrymple, Esq.; who also enriched our stock of information by communicating all such parts of his works as were appropriate to the voyage.

Fornasiero, Jean, Peter Monteath and John West Sooby.

Encountering Terra Australis: the Australian Voyages of Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders. (Kent Town, Australia: Wakefield Press, 2004).

This magnificent and readable book is a joint study of the two expeditions, their scientific developments in natural history and even anthropology, the tensions of command and officers, the conflict and

cooperative endeavors of the two national interests, and including stunning illustrations from the two voyages.

1815 US Naval Expedition to African West Coast (aboard Commerce, commanded James Riley)

Riley, James. *An Authentic Narrative of the Loss of the American Brig Commerce, Wrecked on the Western Coast of Africa, in the Month of August, 1815, with an Account of the Sufferings of the Surviving Officers and Crew, Who were Enslaved by the Wandering Arabs, on the African Desert, or Zahahrah....* Hartford: Judd, Loomis, 1836.

p. 117, an attempt to recreate a reading experience of a letter with liberating news: My feelings, during the reading of this letter, may perhaps be conceived, but I cannot attempt to describe them; to form an idea of my emotions at that time, it is necessary for the reader to transport himself in imagination to the country where I then was, a wretched slave, and to fancy himself as having passed through all the dangers and distresses that I had experienced: reduced to the lowest pitch of human wretchedness, degradation, and despair, a skinless skeleton, expecting death at every instant: then let him fancy himself receiving such a letter from a perfect stranger, whose name he had never before heard, and from a place where there was not an individual creature that had ever before heard of his existence, and in one of the most barbarous regions of the habitable globe : let him receive at the same time clothes to cover and defend his naked, emaciated, and trembling frame, shoes for his mangled feet, and such provisions as he had been accustomed to in his happier days — let him find a soothing and sympathising friend in a barbarian, and one who spoke perfectly well the language of a Christian nation ; and with all this, let him behold a prospect of a speedy liberation and restoration to his beloved family: — here let him pause, and his heart must, like mine, expand near to bursting with gratitude to his all-wise and beneficent Creator, who had upheld his tottering frame and preserved in his bosom the vital spark, while he conducted him, with unerring wisdom and goodness, through

the greatest perils and sufferings, by a continued miracle, and now prepared the heart of a stranger to accomplish what had been before determined.

p. 196: The whole number of inhabitants in Suse [Suez], including white and black slaves, is estimated at more than one million: they are all strict observers of the Mohammedan doctrine and ceremonies, and appear to be enthusiasts in religion, though like the Moors they are not generally taught the arts of reading and writing, and are in consequence considered by the, wandering Arabs much beneath them in acquirements, as well as in point of natural abilities. Their language is the corrupt Arabic, not easily understood by the Arabs of the desert, who pretend to speak and write that ancient and beautiful language in its greatest purity.

1815-18 Russian Exploring Expedition (Captain Otto von Kotzebue aboard *Rurik*)

Chamisso, Adelbert von. *A Voyage Around the World with the Romanzov Exploring Expedition in the Years 1815-1818 in the Brig Rurik, Captain Otto von Kotzebue.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986).

p. 27, a paean to Kotzebue as author, the father of this Captain: How often in the far ends of the earth, namely on O-Wahu [O'ahu], Guaján [Guam], etc., have I been praised for my small share in the enterprise of his son, in order to cast a hem of the mantle of his fame over me. Everywhere we heard his name mentioned. American newspapers reported that *The Stranger* had been performed to extraordinary applause. All the libraries in the Aleutian Islands, as far as I have investigated them, consisted of a single volume of the Russian translation of Kotzebue."

1817-20 French Exploring Expedition (aboard *Urania*, commanded by Louis de Freycinet

Freycinet, Louis de Saulces. *Voyage autour du Monde exécuté*

sur les corvettes de S. M. l'Uranie et la Physicienne 1870-20. (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1824-44).

Bassett, Marnie. *Realms and Islands: The World Voyage of Rose de Freycinet in the Corvette Uranie. From Her Journal and Letters....* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).

Rose de Freycinet was smuggled aboard her husband, Captain Louis de Freycinet's corvette 'Uranie', about to sail on a scientific expedition round the world. She played a gallant and gracious part in the adventure which took her to many islands and countries. Her presence aboard, officially forbidden at the outset, had been condoned by the authorities long before she returned, and she was welcomed home as the heroine she had proved herself to be. [Summary from Aquila Books, ABEBooks, 3/1/17.]

p. 13-14, at the first port after Toulon, Gibraltar: Shepherded by one of the General's engineer-officers, they inspected Gibraltar's singular fortifications; also the tennis court, the magnificent billiard room and the library, amenities provided in the hope of keeping the garrison's officers—English and Hanoverian—out of mischief in this restricted spot. The library proved to be a small but choice collection of books in the charge of an elderly French refugee, cultured and urbane; here, among other works, their English guide showed them a volume of engravings entitled *The Victories of the French Under Napoleon*; and here, according to [Jacques] Arago, on his several visits no readers were to be seen except one English colonel solemnly examining some caricatures.

p. 17, en route to Rio in October 1817, Rose describes her life at sea: In the evening, if Louis stays with me, I take up my books or my work, according to circumstances. Sometimes, but not often, we take a turn on the bridge. In all this as you will see, there is no place for boredom. It is my belief that boredom can always be avoided if one enjoys work and wants only the attainable.

p. 26, while in Rio: In the household of the Russian Consul, M. Langsdorf, formerly naturalist of the Krusenstern expedition, French

was spoken fluently and the latest journals from France were to be seen: it was under this roof that Rose saw ‘the ridiculous article published in some of the French papers [about her scandalous voyage] when I left Toulon; very far from being flattered by the celebrity that people want to fasten on me it gives me great displeasure’....

p. 54, concerning the Chief Judge of Maritius, a new English friend there, a man who spoke such fluent French: as, for instance, when, presiding at an assemblage of Freemasons meeting in de Freycinet’s honour, he gave a delightful address as perfectly as a Frenchman would have done. And although he was elderly—indeed, over fifty—Rose found him charmingly gay.

p. 59-60, while in Mauritius Rose tried to track down the site of a novel by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Paul and Virginia*: Like the rest of her world, indeed, like all reading Europe, she had been enchanted by this tender pastoral set in eighteenth-century Ile de France, a love tale culminating cruelly in the authentic wreck of the ship *St. Géran* off the island’s coast. The book’s limpid language, the simple and virtuous lives it told of the perfection of social relationship as shown by the mutual devotion of white and black; the background of forest glade and waterfall, leaning coconut palm and soaring crag—all accorded with her generation’s desire for artlessness in Man and the picturesque in Nature. [She later became disillusioned at the “many inaccuracies this charming author has given us.”]

p. 184, Freycinet was directed to meet Judge Barron Field in Sydney in 1819, an Englishman who had been in the colony for three years, and a man of letters: Not that there were none to share Field’s literary tastes; but he alone had a published book to his credit—the more-than-thin volume, *First Fruits of Australian Poetry*; nor is it likely that any others among them had moved in a London circle devoted to the drama, poetry and journalism or who could claim to be a friend of Leigh Hunt and intimate of Charles Lamb and to have met Wordsworth at least once: nor, probably, was there any other than Field whose wife was to be praised by Lamb as ‘really a very superior woman.’

p. 194, at the end of the Sydney visit which they clearly loved: It was only for the few, and probably all of them French and caring for the

lustre of France's name, that Botany Bay was hallowed as the place from which Europe had received the last messages from the renowned la Pérouse, just before he sailed out into the Pacific and to his mysterious end. Those messages had reached France through his chance and happy meeting with the English officers on their way to Port Jackson to plant the first parties off convicts on its unknown shore.

p. 201ff (Chapter XIX); after a relatively benign passage of Cape Horn, the ship arrived in the Falklands in February 1820 and while seeking a safe harbor was wrecked on submerged rocks. After keeping the ship afloat until morning light, they were able to bring the derelict to a sandy beach.

p. 204: At once their tasks began: first, the removal and safehousing of the journals and scientific documents, records of observations made in physics, astronomy, hydrography, languages, natural history—an immense number and all intact; but most of the collections of botanical specimens, of birds and butterflies and shells, all made with loving labour, were either water-damaged or altogether lost, and also lost were twelve or fifteen of Arago's albums of sketches and his collections of the arms and costumes of the countries visited *en route*.

p. 214, while beached on a deserted Falklands Island awaiting rescue by an American whaler, Rose write of her reading or sewing: There is no mention of practice on her guitar, known to have been carried ashore from the corvette. Arago, attempting at this time to distract his fo'c'sle friends from the desolate present, read aloud to them each night from *Robinson Crusoe* [presumably in French]; he found them attentive until their accustomed meal-time came round, bringing no meal, when grumbles and groans put an end to reading and they all abandoned themselves to a sleepless night.

Conclusion: the crew was finally rescued by a ship which brought them to Rio de Janeiro and finally back to France by November 1820, three years after their departure from Toulon. Somehow Rose maintained her equanimity and religious convictions to the end of the journey though she died of cholera in 1832.

p. 257 describes the Freycinet Château de l'Age: With in the house, portraits of the Freycinets—Henris, Claudes, Charles—look from the

walls at their successors moving about twentieth-century life. The round portraits of Louis and Rose are beside a fireplace in the *salon*; these young faces do not look out at the world but at each other, in happy trust.

It is perhaps in the library rather than in the *salon* that the spirit of both Louis and Rose is most clearly felt: for it is here that Louis's Voyage takes its rightful place among the other navigator's volumes, gleaming in leather bindings of old gold, and here that Rose's manuscripts are in safe keeping, record of adventures met with when travelling among foreign realms and islands one hundred and forty years ago.

1820-22 British Sealing Voyage (aboard *Princess of Wales*)

Charles Medyett Goodridge was born in Paignton Devon and at the age of thirteen became a cabin boy. He was later to sail on the princess of wales to hunt seals on the island of Crozets. After the ship was wrecked he and the crew were to become stranded here for 2 years surviving on a diet of seals, sea elephants, birds and eggs.

The latitudes of these islands mean they are a cold and inhospitable place to survive on. But they had with them the ships Bible and this holy book helped them survive the coming months from the cold and hardship.

They were eventually rescued by an American ship but even then his adventure was not over after being marooned on Amsterdam island and St Paul's. He lived on Van Diemens Island.—Now Tasmania for a further 9 years before he returned finally to England. [Summary from Amazon online 3/2/17]

Goodridge, Charles Medyette. *Narrative of a Voyage to the South Seas, and the Shipwreck of the Princess of Wales Cutter, with an Account of Two Years Residence on an Uninhabited Island.* 6th ed. (Exeter: W. C. Featherstone and Sold by the Author, 1852).

Account of a sealing voyage (starting May 1820) off the Cape of Good Hope which led to shipwreck and abandonment (in Crozet Islands). Curious blend of adventure, piety, and natural history (esp. birds). The unpaginated preliminaries include a preface, index (contents), opinions of the press, and lengthy subscriber lists organized by place and edition.

Preface 1st edition: As a work of instruction, it is hoped it will not be wholly destitute of merit containing as it does information relative to the natural productions of such a remote and insulated spot. To the moralist it will afford some matter for sober thought; to the believer in a wise and all-ruling Power, it will give a renewed source of consolation derived from additional proofs of his Almighty care and providence;—to those who advocate and lend their aid to that most valuable of institutions, the BIBLE SOCIETY, it will afford an additional incentive, if such were wanted, for renewed exertions for the spread of the SACRED VOLUME, particularly among mariners—for in this Narrative the words of scripture were most fully verified, that such ‘bread cast upon the waters, shall be found after many days.’

In presenting a SIXTH EDITION...I am induced to hope, from the great interest taken in it by many friends of Bible Societies, and the extracts that have been made from it, in publications sent out by the Parent Society, that it has at least been considered useful in some small degree, in proving the extended utility of that most valuable institution; and that it may still further aid the cause, and stimulate the exertions, of those who labour in spreading the Scriptures, is the sincere wish of
The AUTHOR

Among the preliminaries, at the end of the first subscriber list, is printed this note: “Dover, January 4, 1844.

Frederick Dyer has felt much gratification from the perusal of Mr. Goodridge’s Narrative, he can confidently recommend it as a work full of interest. To Children, the Narrative will confer a similar delight to what is felt by them on a perusal of that popular book, Robinson Crusoe, and their pleasure will be increased by a knowledge of the fact, that the Traveller is alive and sells his own book.

p. 47, aboard Princess of Wales on departure from the Thames: In going down the river, Captain Cox, the then active and zealous agent of the Merchant Seamen's Bible Society, came on board, and after some suitable observations, presented us with a bible. We thought little of the gift at the time, but the sequel will shew that this proved to be the most valuable of all our stores....

p. 67-68, after the shipwreck in March 1821 the crew tried to scavenge what they could from the wreck: The last thing we saved on this day, and which we found floating on the water, was, what proved the most invaluable of gifts,--it was the identical bible * [Footnote * William Hooper being in the boat was the first that espied the Bible, he sung out lustily, pull up, pull up, here is our Bible.] put on board by Captain Cox, the agent of the Merchant Seamen's Bible Society, at Gravesend, on our sailing out of the river Thames, as before mentioned.

But too often are the gifts bestowed by the Bible Societies ill appreciated, and this had undoubtedly been the case with us, up to this time; but it soon became our greatest consolation.

What made this circumstance more remarkable was, that although we had a variety of other books on board, such as our navigation books, journals, log-books, &c. this was the only article of the kind that we found, nor did we discover the smallest shred of paper of any kind, except this bible; and still equally surprising was it, that after we had carefully dried the leaves, it was so little injured, that its binding remained in a very serviceable condition, and continued so, as long as I had an opportunity of using it.

p. 80: I have before said that the most valuable thing we preserved from the wreck was our bible; and I must here state that some portion of each day was set apart for reading it...to its influence we were indebted for an almost unparalleled unanimity during the whole time we were on the island.

p. 84-85: The late Mr. Jonathan Dymond, of Exeter, in his "Essays on the Principles of Morality," says: The British and Foreign Bible Society, during the 20 or 30 years that it has existed, has done more direct good in the world—has had a greater effect in meliorating the condition of the

human species—than all the measures that have been directed to the same ends, of all the Prime Ministers in Europe, during a century.

p. 85, footnote: The exertions of the Bible Society, in distributing the Scriptures among sailors, has tended greatly to improve their morals, and to check swearing and blasphemous language, at one period so commonly in use among them; indeed it was often a boast who could swear the vilest oaths. To take a Bible or a Prayer Book in your hand was sure to bring on you the jeers and ribaldry of all your Messmates, and you were fortunate if you escaped without experiencing some practical joke. Now, however, those inclined to be serious, may in general peruse their Bibles without molestation. I am gratified thus to bear evidence of its great benefit in this point of view. It has also led to a much more orderly observance of the Sabbath. Those facts I have culled from frequent converse with sailors since my return to England.

p. 102-04, there was a separate sealing party on another island which eventually rejoined the shipwrecked group in December 1821: It happened that one of the sealing party, when they went ashore, had taken a bible with him, which on some previous occasion had been presented to him by the Bible Society, and this book had also proved as valuable a friend to them, as that given by Captain Cox to us; this was indeed a most delightful coincidence, may I not say a merciful providence.... When I repeat that the boisterous state of the weather would sometimes confine us to our hut for two or three days together, the comfort afforded by such a resource will be much more fully conceived; and several now read the sacred Scriptures with pleasure and profit who had scarcely looked into a Bible since the period they had left school.

With what self-gratulation may the contributors to the British and Foreign, or the Seaman's Bible Society read these simple facts.... This is a species of charity, which extendeth not only to the utmost parts of the earth, but will last to the end of time,—nay, even to eternity. Its benefits are beyond human calculation—infinity only can trace them. p. 110: Being now settled in our new colony, at least for a time, and being somewhat more expert than at first in catering, we agreed by turns to

search for food, always keeping the Sabbath as a day of rest, and devoted to reading the scriptures and other religious exercises.

p. 110, footnote: The Sabbath among sailors is too often converted into a day of riot and drunkenness; but in this a great improvement has been effected, since the establishment of Bethel ships, and the spread of the scriptures.]

The party was rescued by an American schooner but later left on another more temperate island, on a more traveled seaway, Amsterdam Island.

p. 133: I ought to mention that here also we continued our bible reading, and other religious exercises, (having with us the Bible presented by Captain Cox) and that it was a harbinger of peace to us! the other Bible we left with our two companions on the island of Amsterdam, and doubtless with equal temporal benefit, during their short existence, and we may hope to their eternal happiness, for their lives were cruelly sacrificed, as will hereafter be stated.

p. 209-10: It is the custom of a certain portion of the members [of the Hobart's Presbyterian Tract Society] to go through the whole of the streets of Hobart Town every Sunday morning, delivering at each door the little tracts, and collecting the old ones, which had been read the previous week, occasionally entering into conversation with such of the inhabitants as may be so inclined, on the subject of what they had been reading....

[The concluding section on Van Diemen's Land and Hobart, much longer in earlier editions, would have been from the period of Sir John Franklin as Governor.]

1823-25 American Voyage to Sandwich Islands (aboard HMS *Blonde*)

Stewart, Charles S. *Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands during the Years 1823, 1824, 1825....* With an Introduction ... by William Ellis. (London: Fisher and Jackson, 1828).

The author is a somewhat sanctimonious American missionary who nonetheless enjoyed a conversation with Lord Byron, a naval officer and cousin of the poet whose morals he detested. There is a good deal of material towards the end of the book on providing religious literature, writing tablets, hymn-books, etc. for Sandwich Island natives in their native language—literacy training for the reading of the Bible.

p. 164, describes the “scale of prejudice” against the Missionaries on their arrival, citing the powerful queen Kaahumanu as exceedingly jealous of the teachers: She long persisted in her refusals to attempt to learn to read or write, and was but recently induced for the first time to lay aside her cards for a few minutes, and to repeat the alphabet after a Missionary: since then, she has, however, become an assiduous scholar; and has made her books and slate the principal sources of amusement.

p. 257: *Jan.* 31. [1825] For the last fortnight there has been an unusual and increasing demand for books in the native language. We distributed fifty this morning, before breakfast; and since then, three times that number have been called for. But our stock is entirely exhausted, and we have been compelled to send away hundreds of persons, with the promise of a supply as soon as a new edition shall be printed.

p. 322-23: After dinner we devote an hour to miscellaneous reading, of which the periodical publications sent from America, and our united libraries, form a tolerable collection.

p. 356, aboard *Blonde* sailing among the Hawaiian Islands: The library is in the after-cabin, and is of a character you would more expect to meet in a clergyman’s study than in a post-captain’s cabin; consisting chiefly of British classical writers, with standard works on morals and religion.

1826-29 Russian Exploring Expedition (aboard *Veniamin*)

Litke, Frederic. *A Voyage Around the World 1826-1829*. Edited by Richard A. Pierce. (Kingston, ONT: Limestone Press, 1987).

Trip on *Seniavin*, a Russian ship, to survey coasts of Kamchatka, the Okhotsk Sea, and the Shantar Islands. Traveled from Kronstadt to Portsmouth, Rio, Cape Horn, Valparaiso, Sitka, & Kamchatka. Stopped

in Sitka to observe the Russian colonies there under the Russian-American Company in New Archangel. Baron Wrangell was governor and the fort itself had been rebuilt after being destroyed by the Americans:

p. 48: If I say that we passed our time in Sitka very pleasantly, it should not be assumed that we found it a place of charm.... The vast distance from Europe and thus the dearth and difficulty of communication is one of the inconveniences of the place. Mail arrives once a year in August-September on vessels which come from Okhotsk bringing letters, newspapers and new company employees.... The library founded by Chamberlain Rezanov, which is enlarged every year, is also a great resource. [Litke has quite a bit on the “savage American tribes” near Sitka, with several interesting plates on natives of Sitka at the end of the volume.]

1827, 1839-43, 185??

M’Cormick, Robert. *Voyages of Discovery in the Arctic and Antarctic Seas, and Round the World: being Personal Narratives of Attempts to Reach the North and South Poles; and of an Open-boat Expedition up the Wellington Channel in Search of Sir John Franklin and Her Majesty’s ships “Erebus” and “Terror,” in Her Majesty’s Boat “Forlorn Hope,” under the Command of the Author. To which are Added an Autobiography....* In Two Volumes. (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1884).

The author participated in three polar expeditions, an early 1827 North Pole attempt, the famous James Ross Clark Antarctic expedition on *Erebus* and *Terror* (1839-1843), and a Franklin Search expedition searching for the same two ships. The Ross voyage was the circumnavigation of M’Cormick’s title. [See the Anthology of the Antarctic Reading Experience under 1839.]

p. 239, with Maories in New Zealand: Mr. Williams, as the head of the Church Missionary Society, was the principal speaker [at a joint Protestant Roman Catholic Conference], and, from the attentive manner

in which the Maories listened to him, most unquestionably had the best part of it and the greatest influence with them. The point which gave rise to the warmest part of the controversy was that of the worshipping of images, in which the Roman Catholics clearly went to the wall. There were three of the priests present, two of them the chief speakers. Their attendants occupied another table in the read, containing books and plates for reference, with pens, ink, and paper. On the opposite side, seated with writing materials before him, was Mr. Williams, chairs and benches placed between them for the accommodation of visitors. ... Each party was allowed a quarter of an hour for his speech. The priests made a great fuss about the answers and signatures to some questions.

1829-30 US Circumnavigation (W.C.B. Finch aboard USS *Vincennes*)

Stewart, Charles. S. *A Visit to the South Seas, in the U.S. Ship Vincennes, During the years 1829 and 1830; with Scenes in Brazil, Peru, Manila, the Cape of Good Hope, and St. Helena.* Two Volumes. New York: John P. Haven, 1831.

Stewart was in effect the missionary narrator of this somewhat odd circumnavigation in that it didn't intend circling the globe until it was already on the Pacific Coast. He began on a different ship and then joined the round the world cruise aboard the *Vincennes* at Callao, Peru, on July 29th. [Note: there are variant editions of this work, with differing dates and paginations. The Google version of Vol. I does not indicate date but maybe 1832 rather than the first.

Volume I:

p. 28-29, aboard Guerrier, March 16, 1829, at sea out of Hampton Roads, Virginia: Since entering the northeast trades, our passage, as regards every thing external, has been more than ordinarily devoid of interest. Even the monsters of the deep have so studiously secreted themselves from observation, that I have seen neither whale, shark, nor dolphin, and scarce a porpoise or bonetta....

For the first fortnight out, it was impossible to write, and most of my time was occupied in reading. There is a large and good collection of books on board. Besides several private libraries, a public one of many hundred well chosen volumes, purchased by a subscription of the ship's company, is arranged in the dining cabin under the direction of a librarian: a provision for the recreation and improvement of the crew, of which no public ship bound on a long cruise should be destitute. Irving's Life of Columbus, Scott's Napoleon, The Lady of the Manor, Erskine's Freeness of the Gospel, Weddell's Voyages, Payson's Sermons, and Martyn's Life, are the volumes which have thus far principally occupied my attention. The last has long been a kind of text book with me; and I have now finished it for the fourth time since its publication, in the devoutest prayer that my life might partake some little of the character of his, and my death be blest with the spirit which dictated the last paragraph he ever penned.

Volume II:

There are many references to reading in this volume, but they are exclusively dealing with training in scriptures and the word of God.

p. 23-25, in Tahiti, August 20, 1829, reports on a Tahitian Sabbath, in the Sabbath school where catechism answers were repeated by the group, recitations from the Bible, morning prayer meetings, and where "Almost every individual had in his hand a copy of the portions of the scripture, translated into the language of the group and a book of hymns" (p. 25). Stewart sees it all as illustrating the civilizing results of Christianity.

p. 135, in Honolulu, October 16th, 1829, visiting the drawing room in the home of an Hawaiian chieftain's wife: On that opposite [side of the room], a curtain or screen of handsome chintz, looped up a foot or two at the bottom, partially disclosed, as it waved with the wind, the *boudoir* of Madam Kekuanoa, a principle article of its furniture being an elegant writing table, with papers and books in the language of the country. From this she appeared to have risen when we entered the farther door. Her dress, manner, and whole deportment in receiving us, were those of a lady. A neatly bound copy of the Gospel of Luke, in the Hawaiian

version, the first I had seen, was found lying on the sofa, with a blank book in which she had been writing.

p. 287, Dec. 30th, 1819 at sea in Chinese Sea; The early part of our voyage from Oahu was most uninteresting, characterized chiefly by light and variable winds, an excess of heat, and slow progress;, and but for the blandness and serenity of nights,... and the irresistibly soothing associations connected with their loveliness, both on land and at sea, we should all have become a prey to ennui and the mal du pays. [Stewart himself comes across as a most sanctimonious character who must have caused other ennui among his fellow passengers.

1831-34 US Circumnavigation aboard *Potomac* (led by Commodore Downes)

Warriner, Francis. *Cruise of the United States Frigate Potomac Round the World, During the Years 1831-34, Embracing The Attack of Quallah Battoo.....* New-York: Leavitt, Lord; Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1835.

First destination on this US cruise was Sumatra where an American vessel had been attacked by Malay natives. The cruise is most well known for the *Potomac*'s vindictive and intentionally revengeful attack on those Malays, the people of Quallah Battoo for their earlier attacks. Much of the beginning of the book deals with the skirmishes between the Western and Malay forces, but they need not concern us. Rather we have here some passages dealing with instruction in literacy and religion, the reading of Scripture, and accounts of libraries on the cruise route.

p. 28-29, in Rio de Janiero: There are several primary schools in the city, in which the system of mutual instruction is pursued. There are also schools of a higher order, where are taught mathematics, Latin and Greek, music and drawing. The principal instrument of music is the guitar, and when accompanied by the voice produces a pleasing effect. The higher classes of society send their children to Europe to be educated.

The public library is in an edifice connected with the Emperor's palace, and contains about seventy thousand volumes, most of which are very ancient. We saw here a copy of the first printed edition of the Bible on parchment, impressed in 1461 by the wonderful mechanism of John Faust, the inventor of printing. We noticed also several different editions of the Polyglot Bible in various languages, bearing the marks of extreme antiquity. The works on law and history are considered rich and valuable.

The people are allowed to visit the library during the day, but it is not much frequented, owing to a want of taste for **reading** among the inhabitants. This remark does not apply to the English and Americans resident here. The spirit which they have manifested for their own improvement is worthy of all praise. They have an English library in connection with a reading-room, where they pass their leisure hours usefully and profitably. The traveller has only to be introduced by a member, and any book is at his command.

p. 29-30: The Emperor's private library is not very extensive but it contains many rare works.

p. 50, visiting Cape Town in late 1831: The Library is in one part of the Commercial Exchange, and contains a collection of valuable **books**, amounting to eighteen thousand volumes. Some of them are Dutch. A couple of volumes, containing exquisite engravings of botanical specimens, in particular, engrossed my attention. American novels, especially those of Cooper, were much sought for by the British.

p. 147, visiting an Episcopal clergyman in Batavia: Mr. **Medhurst** has an extensive English library, besides a small one of Chinese and Japan works. Some of the latter contain most ludicrous representations of men with a dozen heads, arms, and legs, I noticed many drawings of birds and animals, which were very correct. The Japanese, like the Chinese, excel in drawing animals, fishes, birds, and insects ; but they entertain most ridiculous ideas of mankind, in supposing that there are races of human beings with countless numbers of heads, feet, &c.

p. 152-53, in Malaysia: A well- dressed native came to inform us, that the people were assembled at the church, in readiness for the preacher. The church is a neat little building, situated on a gentle elevation, a short

distance from the village. It is constructed of stone or brick, whitewashed on the outside, and is sufficiently large to accommodate two or three hundred people. The clerk, a venerable looking Malay about fifty years of age, commenced the exercises by reading a chapter in the Bible. He was dressed in European costume, a long black coat, with pantaloons of the same color, and a white cravat. It was pleasing to witness this assembly of natives, all neatly clad, and simple and unassuming in their appearance, and I heartily wished that some of the enemies of missions could have been present, to witness the good which the introduction of Christianity has effected among these uncultivated natives. They appeared very devotional, and a deep solemnity seemed to pervade their minds. It might be well for other Christian assemblies to learn a lesson from them in this respect. The congregation, generally, was more solemn, and gave better attention to the services, than many I have witnessed in our own country. The singing was simple and plaintive, and though “no pealing anthem swelled its note of praise,” yet, as the sounds would gradually rise and fall, increase and die away, it seemed

“That holy, heavenly melody,
The music of a thankful heart,”

and as such, I listened to it with much satisfaction.

Mr. Medhurst's discourse was delivered in the Malay language. The subject was the love of the Saviour to a lost and ruined world. The people listened with deep interest, and when prayer was finished, and the benediction pronounced, the people quietly returned to their respective homes.

p. 154, during Warriner's visit in Batavia to the missionary classes: The first class were from the ages of six to fourteen, and were thirty-two in number. Mr. Medhurst heard them read, and after asking them some questions from a small book made by their late pastor, expounded to them a portion of Scripture. He then examined their writing-books, gave them such instruction as he thought necessary, and closed the exercises with prayer. After these pupils were dismissed, another class assembled, from the ages of fourteen to thirty-five. Some of them were very

intelligent, and answered the questions put to them readily. Mr. Medhurst accompanied the answers with suitable remarks. The elderly people listened with attention, and seemed much gratified.

p. 166-67, visiting Chinese families in Batavia: The next day we visited several Chinese families, and distributed useful **books**. In the course of our rambles, we came to a gambling house, in which a multitude of people were collected, playing at cards. Mr. Medhurst, addressing them in their own language, rebuked them for spending their time and money in such a manner. He told them, that by thus squandering their fortunes, they would have nothing wherewith to support their parents. They acknowledged the justness of the remarks, yet the conversation produced but a momentary impression. After a short interval, all resumed their game.

p. 203-05, in China: I HAD the pleasure of being introduced by Mr. Bridgman to Leang Afa. This man has borne a Christian character for nearly nineteen years, “and is about forty-eight years of age. His native place is seventy miles distant from Canton. He was put to school at eleven, but soon after was removed on account of the poverty of his father, when he was employed in cutting blocks of words for printing. In 1813, Dr. Milne engaged the services of this native as printer to the mission at Malacca; and 'when he was about to embark for that place, he made a solemn review of his life, and determined to live as a rational, being in future, as he had too long associated with bad companions, and wasted his money in gambling. In 1813, he was convinced that he needed pardon for his sins, yet knew not how to obtain it, and used to make sacrifices twice a month, without finding that any radical change took place in his conduct. Though Dr. Milne then made great exertions to instruct him in the Scriptures, he was at first too inattentive to “obtain any distinct knowledge of the Almighty, or of the doctrines of the Bible. He would sometimes meditate upon what he heard till he felt a decided opposition to the new religion, and occasionally indulged in ridicule against it and him who taught it.

After some time, he made application to a Buddha priest, who gave him a book, informing him that he might obtain salvation by repeating enough of its contents to amount to a thousand million of pages! He

commenced his task, but on reflection was struck with its absurdity, and abandoning it, began to inquire with greater interest into the doctrines of Christianity, and to read the Scriptures with anxiety. Through the instructions of Dr. Milne, and his own exertions, he became acquainted with the Bible, and especially such parts as more directly applied to his own case; he renounced idolatry in which he had been educated, and the course of deception which he had practised, and took upon him the profession of Christianity in 1816, at twenty-eight years of age. Four years after, he visited his native country, where he composed a tract, consisting chiefly of passages from the Scriptures. This was not published, for the police seized the edition and the printing blocks, and punished him with fine, imprisonment, and with beating. Dr. Morrison procured his release. I was not aware at the time I saw him, that his labors among his own countrymen had been so abundant and beneficial, as has since been manifest from the interesting missionary details published in the United States.

p. 226, meeting with Sandwich Island chiefs who were apparent converts: They expressed their warmest gratitude to the Lord for his goodness in sending them the Bible, and other religious **books**, and for the pleasure they took in serving and worshipping the only living and true God. Though I had read much of the influence of religion upon the people, I was hardly prepared for all I heard relative to the subject. Their whole discourse was the language of fervent piety, and I endeavored to encourage them in the practice of the precepts and sanctions of the gospel.

p. 236: A complaint was made while we were at Honolulu, that the government had adopted the ten commandments as the basis of their civil code ; but I can see no reason why the laws dictated by divine wisdom, and uttered in thunder from the mount, may not be as applicable to the Sandwich islanders as they were to the Hebrew commonwealth. Much was said against the missionaries for not encouraging agriculture; but the evil exists in the nature of the government, and while things continue as they are, little will be effected, “The islanders have few inducements to labor. The government is similar to the old feudal system introduced into England in the twelfth century by William

the Conqueror; a system of oppression, exposed to all the inconveniences incident to that species of civil polity. The supreme legislative power is lodged in the king and the council of his chiefs. The people, however, are in a greater or less degree dependent upon the simple authority of the king. He levies taxes upon them at his pleasure; he neither gives nor sells them any land, that they can hold as their own. He allows them the use of it, but they are liable to be removed at his will, notwithstanding any improvements that may have been made. Such things have often occurred. When a man brings produce to market and sells it for a certain sum, one half must go to the king, and if afterwards his royal majesty wishes for the other half, he takes that also without the least scruple. Where then is the encouragement for the people to exert themselves? They are poor, and must be, so long as the present system exists. Efforts have sometimes been made by the foreign residents, to impress the mind of the visitor with the idea that the want of finely cultivated plantations is to be attributed to the influence of the missionaries.

1838-39 American Circumnavigation (aboard *Columbia* commanded by George Campbell Read)

Read, George Campbell, USN. *Around the World: A Narrative of a Voyage in the East India Squadron, under Commodore George C. Read, by an Officer of the Navy.* In Two Volumes. New-York: Charles S. Francis, 1840.

Rear Admiral George Campbell had a distinguished naval career including service on the USS *Constitution* (“Old Ironsides”) in the War of 1812, in the Barbary Wars, and in this Sumatra expedition as Commodore of the *Columbia*. I assume this is his book (OCLC catalogues it as his), but it is hard to tell since the author refers to Read in the third person, and to himself as one of the Professors. Whoever the author, he is a thoughtful, even elegant writer with a self-deprecating impulse not common among admirals or explorers.

Another book about this voyage by the chaplain of the squadron, Fitch W. Taylor, follows.

Volume I:

p. 21-27, whoever the author, he reads as if he is having the reading experience. Here is a lengthy early passage on their departure from Hampton Roads (Norfolk, VA), not too relevant to our theme of reading, but a fascinating glimpse into the would-be upper-crust life on a man-of-war.

p. 21: But I must initiate the reader a little farther into the recesses of the frigate; and although it may appear somewhat egotistical, I cannot better convey an idea of incidents and peculiarities, than by relating impressions that most affected myself. Certainly, of all my impressions, the most lasting were made by the circumstances which I am about to narrate; and I think, moreover, they involve a little of naval principle, — otherwise, for certain good reasons, I would let them rest, and veil my name, and every sign that might betray my identity as the writer.

There were three Professors of Mathematics in the squadron, one a passenger, and the other two regularly attached to the respective ships; among whom, as the old codger remarked, who gave the famous toast, "to those who fought, bled, and died on Bunker's height," I myself was one. Now the grade of Professors in the sea service was adopted as an experiment only about five years previous, and up to that time, although few of them had been at sea, they had invariably messed and occupied commodious apartments with the ward-room officers.

p. 21-22: So it was with the Professors in our squadron, till within a few days of our departure, and every provision was made accordingly, when to our surprise and confusion, we were graciously informed that a letter had been received from the Board of Commissioners, declaring that Professors had no right to mess in the ward-room. This was indeed astounding, since we had been assured by the Hon. Secretary of the Navy, by our friends in the service, and by every legitimate precedent, that we were individually entitled to a state room, and to the privileges of the ward-room. But it appeared to us, that there was a prevalent jealousy among those naval officers, against all civilians in the service;

and that besides this, the lieutenants of our two ships, as a body, were unusually young, and knew not well how to wear their thickening honours without arrogance. It occurred to them, however, that they were unjustly crowded; that the department had thrust in upon them unswabbed, unhonoured, non-militant spies, without regard to their comfort; and they considered the act, as an innovation — an incubus, that must be thrown off; and they accordingly determined at least to reject the Professors, and if possible, to run them out of the ships. But how was this to be done?

Why, nothing so easy to their minds. They could see no difference in rank between Professors, and the old grade of dissipated, worthless scapegoats, ycleped the unexamined, unqualified, temporary teachers: and they were very sure that none of that grade ever messed in a wardroom: ergo, there was precedent enough for their purpose. So thereupon, a joint letter to that effect was sent to the Secretary of the Navy; by him it was referred to the Board of Commissioners, instead of the Attorney General, and the obnoxious letter of ejectment was returned in answer.

p. 22-23: The Professors were told of the decision, without being allowed to see either letter; but they sent a remonstrance, though of course too late for redress, to the following purport: that the subscribers regarded the decision of the Hon. Navy Board, as a hasty one, both illegal, and unnecessarily militating with the rights and usefulness of Professors. They had understood that the office to which they were appointed, had been purposely elevated in rank, and encircled with extra privileges, conditions, and honours, in order to induce gentlemen of known ability and refinement to enter the profession. It was feared, with all deference and respect, that the Hon. Board had not duly considered the fact, that by their decision they had placed the Professors in the same irresponsible, inefficient position, which was held by the temporary teachers — a position that in every instance, made that disrespected office almost a sinecure, and was the basis of the argument for trying the experiment of a higher grade, having superior rights and authority. It was presumed that the Hon. Board knew very well, that officers who mess in any lower degree than the wardroom, in our ships of war, are

indiscriminately treated like striplings at a boarding-school; and if a teacher be upon the same subordinate level with such, he can of course have little more influence over them than one of themselves ; or at best, act as a servile usher to officers who may know nothing of his business. p. 23-25: It is expected of a Professor that he shall have spent his youth and much money in his education; that he should be a man grown — having experience in the art of teaching—with habits fixed as a man, and with the refinements of a gentleman : and can such expectations be answered, when the Professor is placed beyond the pale of manly privileges and associations — when the door to common courtesies is closed upon him, and he is forced back into the frolics of youth, and made to jostle constantly with those, among whom many are just acquiring the proper sobriety and deference that become a manly intercourse? For the young gentlemen, the “sky-larking,” laughter-loving middies, such a condition is not only tolerable, but agreeable; particularly since they are in the line of promotion, and can anticipate the day when they shall enjoy the exclusive comforts of the ward-room and cabin. But for the Professors, with no chance of improvement in rank or pay, however low may be his position, and with a mere competence at best for a respectable person, and yet subject to the orders of the Department on shore, without pay, it is intolerable, it is more than the government intended, and more than a gentleman should suffer with patience.

Thus indeed it was with myself; but what could I do? I could not get detached — my resignation could not be accepted — there was no time to go to Washington for a release, and to desert was dishonourable. Go then I must; but how or where to mess I knew not.

In this dilemma, there came to me “a comely youth—neat, trimly dressed”—with classic head, balanced a little aft with self-esteem, and an air so recherche, that I was prepossessed.

He represented that he was a caterer on board the Columbia, and one of their assistant surgeons, who, with two others, composed the cockpit mess. They had made their arrangements without expecting an addition to their number — and all the rooms of their apartment excepting two, were occupied by the stores of different messes; but, if I

would accept of a privilege in the country of the cockpit and join his mess, he assured me, that my society would certainly be a great pleasure to them, and I should be fully welcome to a share of their rights and accommodations.

I did not hesitate to accept this offer, and, having despatched my boxes of instruments and books, which I was told could not be allowed a place in the ship, I repaired with the doctor on board, to take possession of my new allotment.

Down, down, down, I went, through three hatch-ways of that deep frigate, to the veriest submarine cellar that ever a landsman beheld. There, amid thick darkness, and thicker filth and dampness, there was the abode in which I was invited to spend three years.

The open area, called "the country" was about twenty feet square — lumbered with the mess and personal chattels, including those of the boys, of eight persons. About the sides opened the store and bread rooms of every mess in the ship, excepting that of the cockpit, which was unfortunately in the vocative: then, beneath was the spirit-room, which, when opened, as it was thrice a day, and often all the day — required us to have our light doused or extinguished — our only light — for the light of day was shut out effectually by many a beam and plank, opaque and thick. The two state rooms, indeed, afforded a screen of privacy to two assistant surgeons; but, the refuse of us had not even the chalked lines of an Irish colony in a city garret, nothing to distinguish the premises of *meum et tuum*.

In that dark, dolorous hole, which was aptly called by "a reefer," the "lower regions," we were to make our home, to live and move by day and night. Then each second day we were to have the place flooded and swabbed; each other day to have the wet or dry holy-stoneing; and, occasionally, a boat's crew let loose upon us, armed, cap a pied, with brushes and buckets of white wash to enlighten our apartment; and, indirectly, ourselves and clothes also.

Of course, we soon became very indifferent about our personal pulchritude, and although every morning at six-bells, we might be seen groping about, by a taper light, or "purser's moon," hitting our sconces against staunchions and low beams, and raising many an organ not

contemplated by Spurzheim, before we could complete our daily ablutions and toilette, yet we seldom attempted any extraordinary touches excepting on Sunday, or in port.

p. 28-29, in a subtle but snarky attack on ship's surgeons as undesirable literary companions in the wardroom: "It is admitted," says this journal,

"that great changes have been effected since the administration of the great Lord Melville, who was truly the father and benefactor of the British navy, and the signal transition from the illiterate 'doctor's mate' to the 'assistant surgeon' is, especially, an honour to the service.

... His examinations show him to be proficient in his profession, yet he is still doomed to associate with boys, many in the first years of their career, too juvenile for companions—too old to be treated as boys—too little trained to discipline to respect others. Moreover, the assistant surgeon is cut off from all professional reading, which we all know to be impracticable in a cockpit. Further, the modernized pay of this class of officers is adequate to maintain the expenses of the wardroom: his reading, his habits, his generally mature age, fit him for an associate with the higher grade; and it is hoped that this boon will be conceded.

..." . It has occurred to me, and I would therefore suggest, from my brief observations, that, if it be practicable, it would certainly be more congenial to all, for the educated civilians, and other idlers of similar rank, including the first lieutenant, to mess together in some appropriate apartment, as a kind of scientific corps. I might dwell upon the advantages thence to be derived, but they may occur as readily to others. Whether applied or not, this suggestion is at least worthy of consideration; for the wise despise nothing, and it is a sound philosophy, approved by Paul long before it was introduced by Lord Bacon, "to prove all things, and hold fast to that which is good."

p. 52, on meeting a fellow vessel on entering a foreign port; She was just then heaving in sight. Where had she been? what had she met? and how happy the meeting of the ships at sea, to sail together into a foreign port, as they came from home! Such thoughts rushed through the mind of each observer; and undoubtedly the reader too has a like curiosity to know what she had met with since we parted.

As to what she met, why truly one answer might suffice for the entire voyage of either ship. When Hamlet was asked what he was reading, he answered, " Words! words! words!" which is all that one can properly say of most books where in there is nothing new — naught

"But matter newly dress'd,
What oft was thought, though never so express'd."

p. 127, in Rio di Janiero: On our way thither we had an opportunity of noticing the National Library, once a valuable collection of thirty thousand volumes established by the liberal and tasteful, though absolute and irresolute Don Pedro 1st; but now dwindled to about ten thousand neglected, dust-covered books, which are soon to be taken from a careless illiterate community, and deposited in the palace. The English and Americans have a respectable library of their own; though at present it is of little interest.

p. 154-55, a good description of the shipboard school for apprentices and cabin boys: A part of these young gentlemen had refused to attend school at all where the noisy, indecent apprentices were; but of those present, two or three are writing letters or journals, others reading novels or drawing, while the remainder are restless and impatient, or half dozing over the worn but unstudied pages of Bowditch.

"Is there any need," says one, "of studying all this Geometry in Bowditch?"

"Certainly," says the teacher, "and it were better for you to study a complete course of Geometry."

"But I can't fix my mind to such dry stuff in a wet noisy place like this; besides I've got to muster my division, and fill out my quarter-bill directly, so I must quit now at any rate"

Directly another breaks out in the same strain, "Well its no use, I can't study here; but I know how to keep the dead reckoning, and I can take the meridian altitude, and work chronometer sights already; and is'nt that all I need to get excepting to work a lunar sir?"

"Why I presume you know nothing of the principles involved in those problems. Perhaps you cannot even tell me the difference between

the azimuth and the amplitude of the sun; nor what is meant by the arithmetic complement of any number?"

"No sir, I cannot."

"Do you understand the difference between Mercator's, and middle latitude sailing?"

"I think I understand it, though I can't exactly explain it. But I can learn all those things better on shore at the naval school."

So this student also escapes to seek a seat in pleasanter company. Directly a messenger comes in inquiring for Mr. R.

"What now?" says Mr. R.

"The officer of the deck wants you, sir," and Mr. R. goes. [Several more pages follow on the ignorance and foolery of the apprentices, the inadequacies of the surgeons, how Crusoe wrote every word of his book, and other drooleries of the school hours at the beginning of the cruise.]

p. 170: By Sunday, the second of September, we began to get beyond the influence of the dauphin winds, although squalls and rains, and light breezes still annoyed us. This bustling, dull, depressing kind of weather had gradually subsided, and the comparatively idle crew were once more resorting to the books of the General Library for recreation. I think, by the by, I have not before alluded to this source of amusement provided for the sailors, and all hands. There was on board, a library of three hundred and sixty volumes, purchased by a general subscription among the crew and officers, but whether it was any benefit to them, remains to be told. While it was a novelty in the ship, the books were taken out often by the men, and well used; but they must have a grumble about the library, as well as everything else. The murmurers complained that the wardroom officers used their library as an ornament for their apartment, where the sailors seldom could see it; and that in some instances, those officers monopolized the best books.

But a far worse fate seemed to attend the books in their own hands when coming around the Cape. Many were taken by the winds from the tops, others were neglected, and floated into the dirty scuppers, and more of them were torn or dropped overboard. Nevertheless, as we coursed quietly along toward the east, the readers who were not on the

watch, were idling over the remaining books—the thrifty being seated about the decks a la Turque, busily plying the needle, or braiding sinnet hats for themselves and others, while the more careless and improvident were playing drafts or whackets.

p. 189, Sabbath Schools at sea: I was on the forecastle one evening, and heard one of the scandalous tirades of old Fry and his gang against all that is sacred and good. Old Fry was our armourer, but in figure and stature as fit for a Hercules as a Vulcan. He was such a libidinous, yarn-spinning old talker, that he always had a crowd of laughing, encouraging listeners about the anvil where he was wont to sit, when the fire was put out for the night, ready prepared to rivet the hearts of his auditors.

Fry had evidently vented a long volley of vituperation against priest-craft and bigotry, before I was within hearing; but the subject was turning upon Sunday schools, when I sat down near by upon a gun slide to hear what old Nicholson had to say, who was an occasional competitor with old Fry, and that night was posted on the tool chest with his chin between his knees.

“Why old Nic,” said Fry, “did you know they had a hypocritical d—d Sunday school screen around them after guns last Sunday?”

“Yes, I did so,” said Nic, “and it isn't the first time they have taken the shine off o’ them guns, in that same way too, with their cursed saint palavers; but I shall be glad if they don't convert the guns into ‘*quakers*’ before they're done.”

“I expect,” said Fry, “that the next time that after gun is touched off, she'll roar out the Lord's prayer, and all the hills will answer back in reg'lar church fashion. But that wouldn't be a bad plan though, would it? If we could just get that gun to go through the prayer business, we could set the chaplain adrift; and have no black coats in the service.”

p. 190-91, another rant about book learning: “It's my opinion,” said old Jeffrey, another railer in the party, “that those religionists intend to keep the men's library to themselves, and barter it away for bibles. Then you may be sure that every one will have to read a varse or two at quarters night and morning.”

The library had been so used and managed in the wardroom, that it had been left for many days before in their hands, and none had been

issued to the men. The men easily turned their thoughts to other things, and resorted to playing, yarning, and even to gambling, till whipped for it; but on all sly occasions, they ventured complaints about the deprivation of the library.

“Well,” said old Fry, “I’m glad the library is stopt; what the devil has a sailor to do with books? If Jack gets ashore, he never thinks of a book, not he! Let him alone, and he’ll make a straight wake for some old silly Sally—spend his money in a day or two, get drunk, and ship again. And then he wants a book, does he? I never knew one of these soft, sappy, readin’ sailors, that was not a shirk. They are never ready to strike while the iron is hot.”

“No, that’s true,” said old Nic, “they must always be finishing a chapter or a sentence, if they are out of the way, before they go to work. If I had my way, or if I only was a skipper, and mounted two swabs, which thank God I don’t, and I had to take a ship’s library along, I’d tow it astern ready preserved in good brine for them that likes em.”

“That’ll do for you to say,” said a young parsnip marine, “but if you knew how to read your name, you’d go as strong for a library as any body.”

“Shut your clam shell, you foul-mouthed tadpole,” said Fry, “If you knew a truck from a kelson, or a bow-line from a gaff, you’d have no time for books, and might earn your grub, you lazy lubber. Now belay that, and swallow your white livered words, if you’ve got any more coming up.”

Such are the associates and conversations to which school apprentices are exposed; and can it be expected that any wholesome, religious influence will be extended among boys where such blasphemers as these are in constant juxtaposition?

p. 291, the town hall in Mombai: We entered through the paled enclosure at one end, and, while looking at various antiques, that lay in the vestibule—idols of different shapes—stone tablets with Sanscrit inscriptions and a skeleton found in a cave—one of the civilian officers invited us into the reading and library rooms of the Bombay branch of the Asiatic Society. These rooms occupy the breadth of the building upon the second floor, at the eastern end: where, besides the oriental

literature with which it is richly supplied, is an embryo museum recently attached.

Volume II:

p. 28, the Governor's House in Ceylon, Columbo?): The governor's house occupies a corner where two principal streets intersect and divide the city, within the fort, nearly into four quarters. It extends with its wings and gardens over a wide space on both streets, and has a pretty colonnade and verandah in front. Upon an opposite corner stands a long building surrounded with an elevated piazza or colonnade, having deep windows, and the evident aspect of a public hall. This contains the reading and assembly rooms, with a select library of ten thousand volumes, and tables covered with the most interesting periodicals of England and India; to which the officers of our squadron were politely offered a free access at all times.

p. 126, at the school of the Raffles Institute in Singapore: It has a library of four hundred volumes, and a reading room connected with it, besides other appurtenances, which make it attractive to youth. In the sanguine anticipations of Sir Stamford Raffles, this institution was destined to become a grand central college, at which all the princes of the eastern Archipelago, could be educated, and thence return to disseminate the seeds of knowledge to their people.

p. 307, the Honolulu Institute in Oahu: The basement of the chapel is happily occupied by the Honolulu Institute for their library and cabinet of curiosities, and as a lecture room. This institute illicitly the hearty accord of any intelligent visitor. It is designed for the mutual improvement of its members, and to gather, and to diffuse information concerning every part of Polynesia. Though it is in infancy, it already promises to be extensively useful to the world, while at the same time it serves to divert many residents from dissipations and from the petty, embittering jealousies, which infect the community.

Taylor, Fitch Waterman. *The Flag Ship: Or A Voyage Around the World, in the United States Frigate Columbia; Attended by Her Consort The Sloop of War John Adams, and Bearing the Broad Pennant of*

Commodore George C. Read. By Fitch Waterman Taylor, Chaplain to the Squadron. [Two Volumes] New.York: D. Appleton & Co., 1840.

p. 154-55: Previous to our leaving the harbour of Rio de Janeiro, I preached in the English chapel. The congregation was very respectable. The English chaplain who has charge of the congregation, and the chaplain of the Stag [a Brazilian naval ship], were present—the former reading the service.

It is indeed a grateful opportunity, when abroad, after having been for months on board a ship, to be able to mingle in your own familiar worship of home, on shore. They are the same prayers to which you have often listened with a melted heart; or which you yourself have offered, as the leader in the petitions of hundreds of others—the same responses, and the same psalms, and the same chants, and the same hymns. The heart goes *home* to kindred and to native lands; and if rightly affected, goes upward too in devout devotion and gratitude to Him, who hath blessed and protected the wanderer on his course of the seas.

The modifications in our prayer-book in which it differs from the English service, strike the worshipper of the American church, but interrupts not his devotion. It is but natural that the English should pray for their rulers, though it appears peculiar that they should mention them by name. And in the modification of some of the old obsolete terms, the omission of some things, and leaving others discretionary on the part of the American clergy man, where they are required to be gone through on the part of the English, I deem to be in favour of the American prayer-book. And yet, there could be very little objection for an American clergyman of the Episcopal church, to go through the services of the mother church, before an English congregation, on English ground.

p. 184: Yesterday, September 4th, we were some three hundred miles from land, with the island of Bourbon [Reunion] and the Isle of France [Mauritius] at the windward. It seems yet unsolved whether we shall touch at the latter. It is replete with associations. It is the spot where the scenes are laid, which have brought the tear to the eye of many a young

heart while reading the sentimental and tragic story of Paul and Virginia....

But to me, the greatest charm which could be thrown around this fair isle of the Indian seas, is the circumstance of its being the final resting place of the lovely and devoted *Harriet Newell*. I well remember the story of this first martyr to the cause of East India missions. And when a boy, the memoirs that narrated her voyage, and exhibited her character in its loveliness, its sweetness, and its piety, melted my heart, and perhaps was among the first things that awakened in my own bosom the desire that the God in whom she confided might be mine.

p. 187: While reading, to-day, in the Memoir of the accomplished Henry Martyn, the scholar of Cambridge and the missionary to the Indies, I noted, with interest, the following passage: "Since I have known God in a saving manner, painting, poetry, and music, have had charms unknown to me before. I have received what I suppose is a taste for them; for religion has refined my mind, and made it susceptible of impressions from the sublime and beautiful. O how religion secures the heightened enjoyment of those pleasures which keep so many from God, by their becoming a source of pride!" There is deep truth in this reflection; and it has often impressed my own mind as it is here delineated in the words of Martyn.

p. 251, on mission schools in Bombay: The schools are composed chiefly of the children of soldiers, being mostly of the mixed cast of Mahratta and English. The children exhibited a very neat appearance. We have no schools in our country with which we could with propriety run a parallel; as these children, I am told, originally speak no English, and have to acquire that language as they proceed in their studies. But from the idea I have gained of the parish schools of England, I conclude that these schools would in no instance appear to a disadvantage on a comparison with them. Most of the scholars whom I saw were under the age of twelve. They read English with very considerable accuracy, and seemed to comprehend, as far as children of their age usually do, the instructions which are given to them, in illustration of the religion of Jesus Christ. The Bible is the principal and last class-book used, and explanations in connection with it enter into the plans of the directors,

particularly for imbuing the minds of these scholars with Christian knowledge; while they attend to reading, writing and arithmetic during the time of their connection with the schools.

p. 307, in Colombo: The residence of Sir John was once a government or private botanical garden; and he has, as he said, always been famous for his bouquets. Only in the sweet and flowering isle of Madeira, should I have looked for so rich a chalice of these beautiful Smiles of nature. The manners of Sir John are as gentle as his flowers; and I am sure no one will forget their kindness who has been the recipient of his amiable and elegant courtesies. The Rev. Mr. B. sat on my left, who had lately been reading Cooper's *Switzerland*, and a collection of American poetry—all which he was polite enough to admire. I led him to expect that I would send him some further specimens of American poetry, when I returned to the ship, with a copy of the Prayer Book as used in the American Episcopal churches, which he regarded as a very considerable improvement upon their own. He had not read Mr. Willis's poetry, and I was desirous of furnishing him with some pieces from the elegant pen of this American bard.

p. 352: I spent the hours in reading newspapers from the homes we have left so many degrees behind us. A large roll of papers has been kindly forwarded to us from Captain Silver, of the ship *Sumatra*, which arrived on the coast a few days since; and presuming that we were yet at Kwala Batu, he despatched a native, in his boat, to convey this rich treat to us.

1841-42 American Circumnavigation (aboard *Helena*)

King, Thomas Worthington. *Journal of a Voyage Around the World: A Year on the Ship Helena (1841-1842)*. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2003).

Although not Antarctic bound, this ship did round Cape Horn and reached almost 59 degrees. King was a recent Harvard graduate when he took this voyage from New York to Canton, and after brief work there he continued on another ship back to New York. He was a fast reader and regular in his comments about reading.

p. 7-8, Tuesday 16th November, 1841: In the afternoon I arranged my books placing those I want to use most in convenient and concatable situations. They are all piled up on a shelf which I had made under my berth and though at hand, and yet difficult to find. I cannot feel too much gratified that I brought my books with me—they are the best & most constant friends & companions one can have--& when the jest or yarn has passed off I feel a relief in take up one of these old companions and finding a smiling welcome within its pages. Here though in mid ocean I am surrounded by a community of nations—at one time I love to be elegant with the Greek to fight the Trojans with old Homer; and again Horace & I tread over again those Etruscan fields and rail together at the folly of the times; or perchance Cicero attracts me with his mellow voice and still smoother language, & I join with him in pleading the Cause of Archias or urge the condemnation of Verres. Now I tread with Rinaldo though the camp of the Crusaders or bask in the garden of the enchantress Armida; perchance Alfieri calls and I go over with him, the plaintive & touching history of David and the cruelty of Saul....

[Next page goes on with a paeon to both Harvard and mother for his education.

p. 15, Friday, 27th November: So I spent the morning from 9 to 1 upon the lee side of the taffrail reading *Master Humphrey* [Dickens] which I finished. My opinion of this book is exactly what I was afraid it would be & I was disappointed. I think it is somewhat tedious & prosaic—besides I am wholly out of humour with the author for killing sweet pretty little Nell after exciting my sympathies to the utmost extent, after carrying her through so much hardship and suffering. [cf, Oscar Wilde on the subject.]

p. 33, Thursday 23rd December: Cold, bitter cold and no fire to warm me! poor wretch, why didst thou leave thy pleasant residence in Philadelphia, that queen of cities, to come here on the black & inhospitable shores of Cape Horn? Was it to search like Rasselas after the phantom happiness?...

Read my Blackstone today, concerning hereditaments [*sic*]—and finished *Consalvo de Cordoba*. My Spanish, which has occupied me the last fortnight. I like it very much I wish there were more to read. I shall

commence tomorrow the little drama of *El Sí de las Niñas*. I have a dreadful headache today and shall retire for the night....

p. 34, Friday 24th December: I read Blackstone this morning, but find it *dry* this cold weather, & shall therefore lay it by for the present to resume it when we reach the more comfortable climate of the Pacific. I also began the comedy of Moratín, entitled *El Sí de las Niñas*, but found it either less interesting than *Gonsalvo de Cordoba*, more difficult, or else the cold prevented my entering into the spirit of it, for I did not continue it, & shall postpone it for the present. We have been reading the sailing directions for passing Cape Horn, & all seems *blue* enough.

Almost all the writers prefer a winter voyage, to the summer season—when the days are only six hours long; for though the days be short & the weather cold, yet the chances are better for getting Easterly winds to carry the ship around.

p. 36, Saturday 25th December: [Christmas] Dinner being finished I smoked a cigar, but being fairly overpowered by the goose was obliged to take refuge in my berth & lay there reading *Rasselas* until Murphy with tender arms enfolded me & I slept! Gentle dreams stole through my brain, geese were cackling & hissing around me—unborn goslings reproved me, widowed geese & heartbroken ganders rebuked me with silent, sad glances....

p. 36, Sunday, 26th December. A comfortless day...I shut myself in my stateroom & read the services of the day, this being the first Sunday after Christmas. This occupied me until dinner, which being dispatched, I retreated to my berth, overpowered by the cold & remained there all the afternoon, reading *Rasselas* & dozing. This latter method of killing time will be the least unpleasant resort of escaping from the bitter cold.

p. 38, Monday, 27th December: I give up reading now, my mind being constantly on the stretch to solve the important question, ‘how may I keep warm?’

p. 39, Tuesday, 28th, he is in better spirits: I employed myself for the greater part of the day in amusing reading & practicing my flute & guitar. Have not the courage to begin my studies until fairly clear of Cape Horn & in fine, warm weather. If we had a stove, I should like nothing better than to sit by it & read all the day long, let the winds blow

as they might, so that my feelings were above the freezing point. Actually, the temperature on this summer Cape Horn day was no less than 56 F.

p. 40: reading *Nickleby*.

p. 47, Saturday, Jan 1st, 1842: I went up to the mizzen crosstrees and sunned myself reading *Nicholas Nickleby* and sketching some parts of Staten Land....

p.49, Monday, Jan 3rd: I have kept my room all day, reading *Pelham*, and have finished the first volume & pretty well advanced in the second. If we remain in this cold region much longer I shall become quite a novel reader, it is impossible to study, the weather is too uncomfortable. One great comfort in our affliction is the continued daylight. The sun sets about a quarter to nine, when we have twilight until twelve, and then the day begins to break. I have just come from on deck, 10 ½ o.c. p.m. and can read the finest print without difficulty. Think of daybreak at midnight.

p. 49-50, Tuesday Jan. 4: We are rapidly approaching the ‘end of all things’ the terminus of creation, where the sun even looks frozen, and everything gloomy. I have been reading *Pelham* all day & finished it, and for the first time regret I read so fast, as my novels will soon be exhausted. I provided myself, but scantily supposing that my studies would afford equally agreeable & more valuable entertainment. But who can fix his mind upon *anything* while the body is freezing. I can’t and so have given it up. In the course of time we must get around this Cape.

p. 51, Wednesday, Jan 5: Boswell makes Dr. Johnson laugh at the idea of our being affected by the weather but, the Dr. never visited this part of the globe.

[Within a week the ship is beyond the Cape en route to Valparaiso and King’s reading resumes at a presumably higher, philosophical level. But he deserves notice for his voracious reading at sea.]

1847-48 Whaling Voyage to South Pacific (aboard *Lucy Ann*)

Brown, Martha Smith Brewer. *She Went a-whaling: the Journal of Martha Smith Brewer Brown.* (Orient, NY: Oysterponds Historical Society, 1993).

An example of a whaling captain's wife going to sea with him. Whaling wives were usually known for their New England piety amidst the rough-hewn crews of 19th-century whaling ships. This is the diary of one of them, Martha Brown, who sailed from Orient NY aboard the *Lucy Ann* on August 31, 1847, on an eastward voyage round the world that eventually passed Cape Horn:

p.35-6 [Sunday, Oct. 31, 1847] "Through the interposition of divine providence, we are spared to behold the light of another day, and, though we cannot today enjoy the privileges of the Sanctuary, God grant that its sacred hours may not be misimproved in the closet. Nothing can debar us from coming to God in secret, and have we not the promise that he will ever hear the cry of faith and penitence, and in his own good time and manner send gracious answer of peace. Evening. I have read the first 4 chapters of Matthew with the explanations and notes in the Cottage Bible, and anticipate going through them regularly. Read 4 chapters every Sabbath aloud for our entertainment and instruction, with a fervent prayer that God will bless them to our spiritual and everlasting good. Edward has read two cantos in Mr. Robinson's Poems, which we find very interesting. It is my desire that Jesus may be our spiritual teacher—that although deprived of the stated means of grace, which I have hitherto enjoyed, we may not be left to grope our way along in darkness, but be ripening for heaven as we are advancing towards the grave."

p. 39: "I have been reading the memoirs of Mrs. Winslow, missionary to India, to day. And when I think what she done and suffered for the good of souls, and still felt to be so unworthy of the name of a Christian, and to come so far short of her duty. What can I think of myself, sitting with my hands folded and apparently thinking—that I am to be carried to heaven on flowery beds of ease? ... We have need of a missionary on board. We number 31 in all, and not one, I believe makes any pretensions to religion. And as near as we can ascertain, not but one in

the forcastle that can read, out of 16. I feel that I desire to do something, but know not how to begin.”

p. 52 [Sunday, Feb 13, 1848]: she wanted “to hear dispensed the words of truth and life. And if we were like many or most of our crew, would not read a word for ourselves. Methinks our condition would be a deplorable one. What better are they than the poor heathen, especially hear at sea? They have appeared very well so far on the Sabbath, they make but little noise. But what they do in the fore castle I can not say. The Capt. Has not had to reprimand them once, I believe. I have proposed reading to them. Some of them say they would like to hear good reading. I desire to put it off[f] no longer than next Sabbath if it is pleasant....The mate tries not to believe in anything, but still he has a heart, and I trust one that is susceptible of right and wrong, and a Wife that is a professor of religion....”

p. 57: “April 2 Sunday Eve...I have been reading Mores Practicle Piety and Cause and Cure of Infidelity the past week. Have been much interested in them—Nelsons, in particular. If I could remember what I read I think I might become much wiser. It is my wish to become wise unto salvation I wish all cavilers [detractors] of the Bible could be persuaded to read that book and follow his direction for a happy result.” In late April Martha debarked in Honolulu to await a baby while her husband went with his ship for some months.

p. 65: “I have just finished reading the *Mother at Home*. I think it is an excellent book and would prove a safe guide for every mother who would follow its precepts.”

Her child, William Henry, was born in Honolulu in August 1848. After much anxiety Brown’s disabled ship returned to Honolulu from Kamchatka and the Okhotsk Sea in November.

1849 Return Whaling Voyage South Seas to Boston (aboard *Commodore Preble*)

Cheever, Henry Theodore. *The Whale and His Captors, Or, The Whaleman's Adventures, and the Whale's Biography, as Gathered on the Homeward Cruise of the "Commodore Preble."* (New York: Harper,

1850) [Reprinted Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1991.]

Author is a pious, anti-papist clergyman travelling in a whaler from South Seas to Boston, observing whaling practices and especially critical of Sabbath breaking customs of whalers.

p. 70-71, finds the author reading: A volume of the Family Library, on "Polar Seas and Regions," which I have been reading with great interest on shipboard, says, that the basis of subsistence for the numerous tribes of the Arctic world is found in the genus *medusa*, which the sailors graphically describe as sea-blubber.

p. 76,

. 79: There are some points in the whale's physiology... which are so well described in parts of a sailor's yarn that I have found in a loose number of the Sailor's Magazine, of which most excellent periodical we have several on board...." [a publication of the American Seaman's Friend Society]

p. 162: For the well-deserved commendation of this [whaling] branch of American industry, all persons in any way connected with it will be as pleased as we in the Commodore Preble have been at the way in which New England enterprise was toasted at the New England Society's last dinner in New York. There is an account of the Anniversary of the Pilgrims' Landing, and the festivities of the occasion, in a paper to which we have been treated from an outward-bound whale ship just fallen in with. How greedily we have devoured it, none but a news-hungry whaleman knows.

p. 169, in chapter on wintering over on South Georgia: There was nothing to do in the evenings.... We had the radio, and we carried plenty of books and magazines, but these luxuries can be galling at times. We could sleep, of course, or we might muster up enough courage to poke a nose out into the freezing atmosphere and observe the heavens of the Southern Hemisphere.

p. 204: *Mux* and *skimshander* are the general names by which they express the ways in which whalers busy themselves when making passages, and in the intervals of taking whales, in working up sperm whales' jaws and teeth and right whale bone into boxes, swifts, reels,

canes, whips, folders, stamps, and all sorts of things, according to their ingenuity.

p. 244, p. 244-64: Chapter XVI is an extended harangue against sabbath-breaking on whalers, based on scriptural teachings and Puritan morals. .

p. 305-06, describing the “repulsive hole called the *forecastle*: Here, with no possibility of classification and separate quarters, with few or no books, or opportunity to use them if they were possessed, with the constant din of roystering disorder, superabundant profanity, and teeming lasciviousness of conversation and songs, with no Sabbath, no prayer, no words and efforts of superiors to win them to something better and worthier, three fourths of their forty months’ absence are passed. When they are on shore, or lying in port to refit, corruptions, by libidinous intercourse with impure women, intemperance, and other abominations, vary, while they by no means improve, their condition.—*Christian Reflector*.

1849-51 American Circumnavigation (aboard *Hampton*)

Interesting time of the California gold rush when “most of the crew left the ship at San Francisco for the gold fields” (p. 7).

Davis, Raymond Cazallis. *Reminiscences of a Voyage Around the World*. (Ann Arbor, MI: Dr. Chase’s Steam Printing House, 1869).

Written by an Assistant Librarian of the University of Michigan and son of the captain, who says he wrote it to increase an “insufficient salary.” First published in a weekly newspaper, readers he claims called for book publication. The author was early on a cabin boy, a job from which he was “ignominiously dismissed” for his greater interest in the world, than the world around him.

p. 59-60, approaching San Francisco and a burial at sea: It was afternoon when poor Whitman's body was committed to the deep. There was no wind—not a breath. Since morning not a catspaw had wandered by; but the sea, blue as the sky, stretched far away, smooth, glassy and unbroken. The flag was set half mast. It hung straight down in vertical

folds, opening and shutting slightly with the monotonous motion of the ship, as she fell and rose, slowly, on the long ocean swell.

At two o'clock the body of the deceased, sewed up in canvass, and with heavy weights at the feet, was borne out of the cabin. A plank, laid in the starboard gangway, received it. The feet were placed outboard. The whole ship's company, with uncovered heads, assembled around. Almost perfect silence ensued. There was no sound of animate thing, save the twitter of the stormy-petrel—no sound of inanimate thing, only the bellying and col lapsing sails. The service (that of the Church of England,) was read by one of the passengers. The reading was audible to all, though sad and low.

"Man that is born of woman, hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery. He cometh up, and is cut down like a flower; he fleeth as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one stay.

"In the midst of life we are in death. Of whom
may we seek for succor, but of Thee, O Lord, who
for our sins art justly displeased?"

[This is here followed by other passages from the Book of Common Prayer].

p. 75: In the appendix to his *Life of Columbus*, Washington Irving gives very interesting accounts of the Islands of St. Borondon and the Seven Cities.

I said these accounts were interesting—so is the whole work. For every one who has not read it, there is a great treat in reserve, and I recommend partaking of it as soon as convenient.

p. 75-77: I now became [after he was fired], in some respects, a vagabond—i. e, I experienced all the joys of vagabond life, without any of its hardships and discomforts. I slept very cosily at night, and feasted, physically and mentally, by day. My physical food was pea soup, beef, and duff—my mental food such books as "Ten Thousand Topsail-Sheet Blocks" "Fanny Campbell, The Female Pirate Captain," and "The Blood-Red Revenger of the Spanish Main." This kind of literature the passengers possessed by the bushel.

These books were enclosed in fair "yellow covers," and on their pages, inside, were described adventures so wonderful that sometimes

doubts of their truth rose, even in my confiding mind. It was all in print, however, and my doubts could not scale such a wall as that. Many men disbelieve that "Whatever is, is right," but no natural child disbelieves that whatever is in print, is true.

As my supplies of time and books were unlimited, I read on, and on, and on, until, at length, I got an overdose, and became violently sick of "yellow covered literature." Even now, when I see such books, the sight produces nausea.

Many men are miserable because their children seem to have acquired an insatiable taste for reading "dime novels." The taste is not insatiable, thou unhappy parent, but can be corrected. How are children cured of stealing sugar? Not by any Homeopathic doses, but by being compelled to eat sugar in great quantities, until the stomach rebels, and sends the saccharine matter back by the way it came. Really, though if not Homeopathic practice, this is Homeopathic principle—*similia similibus curantur* [like is cured by like].

Proceed in the same way to correct this taste for reading these books that are morally and mentally injurious. Buy dime novels by the wholesale, set the children to reading, keep them reading; when they tire give them no rest, and, my word for it, in the end, you may cow them by the name of these books, as "on the sands of Yemen the Arab mother hushed her child by the name of Richard."

p. 86: Universal nature has been termed a vast book, from which all in sympathy with nature can read. The page open to us then, was inscribed with poetry — the poetry of the sea. Whoso loved poesy and read:

"To him the gushing of the wave,
Far, far away did seem to mourn and rave
On alien shores;
And deep asleep he seemed, yet all awake,
And music in his ears his beating heart did make,"

p. 208-09: It now occurs to me that I have not designated by what passage my father intended to pass the East Indian Archipelago. He had never navigated those seas, and had, therefore, asked advice, and

consulted many authorities on the subject. He was generally advised to sail by the Gilolo and Ombay passages. It was declared to him that fair winds, fair currents and fair weather, prevailed there at that season. Just consult the proper map in the Atlas, and you will see the direction in which we were to go. The Gilolo Passage lies between the Island of Gilolo and the small islands lying around the northern end of Papua, or New Guinea. To reach the Ombay Passage from there, one must sail through Pitt's Passage, by the northern end of Bouro, and thence southward across the Banda Sea. Ombay Passage is between Timor and the small Island of Ombay, to the north, and leads into the open Indian Ocean.

The advice received in regard to this route was backed up by books. Miserable, miserable advice it was, and lying books they were that confirmed it.

p. 210: When taken ill I was reading, for the first time, Cooper's "Last of the Mohicans." I had reached the point where Hawkeye and his inseparable friends rescue Duncan Heyward's party from the grasp of Magua, on the summit of the mound whither he had led them. Of course I had been time, is not? And now my wandering mind went forth to mingle in the stirring scenes described and to engage with the same actors in new ones.

I participated in the eventful night in the cavern on the rocky island at Glenn's. My blood was curdled by the strange sounds, which, rising from the river's bed, Hawkeye declared not to be of earth. "When day broke, I fought the Hurons across the tumbling water. I conversed with Chingachgook, with Hawkeye, and with Uncas, as though they were always by my side. And so, for days, I lived in an unreal world. Beings who had no existence were my companions—my haunts were strange localities, thousands of leagues away. Yet through all this I saw, darkly and dreamily, the real world about me.

p. 327: These Reminiscences have already exceeded all reasonable limits. To continue them would be an imposition upon those readers who, from principle, read all books through, and a piece of unpardonable

stupidity in me. I shall therefore resolutely turn my back upon the temptation of which I have spoken, and make the best speed I can across the Atlantic.

1854-56 British Patagonian Mission Society Expedition to Southern Atlantic (Captain William Park Snow aboard *Allen Gardiner*)

The South American Mission Society was founded in 1844 as the Patagonian Missionary Society and most recently merged with the Church Mission Society in 2010. It promotes both Christianity (Anglican) and literacy in Latin American and South American indigenous communities. Judging by his pedantic prose Snow must have been a pious but tedious sea captain.

Snow, William Parker. *A Two Years' Cruise off Tierra del Fuego, the Falkland Islands, Patagonia, and the River Plate: A Narrative of Life in the Southern Seas.* Two Volumes. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1857.

A fraught voyage with conflicting commands for sea matters and spiritual matters, to which Captain Snow took umbrage.

Volume I:

p. 22: It was originally intended that a missionary clergyman should have gone out with me, but circumstances prevented one being ready in time. He was to have acted, as the Secretary informed me, under my direction and authority in secular matters; doing duty—strangely enough, to my fancy, for a clergyman—“as third mate on board” while I should have nothing to do with his spiritual labours, except rendering him aid amongst the natives. ...

As the voyage I was bound upon would be one wherein an opportunity might present itself for making various useful observations, I endeavoured to get a few scientific instruments, but failed in an application I made for them. However, with my own limited means I

procured one or two, and was thus enabled, as I hope, to do some little good in that department.

p. 23-24: Just before entering King's Road I thought it wise to receive, in the presence of the Committee, a pledge from all on board that they would, severally and together, at all times, do their utmost towards carrying out the objects of the mission, and cordially support me in the arduous duties it would be my task to perform. I began with the crew, calling over each man's name, and asking whether he fully understood what he had come to do, and would sincerely act up to that which he had promised when signing the ship's agreement. The answer of all was in the affirmative. I then put the same question to the artisans, surgeon, and catechist; and their replies expressed unshaken resolution and confidence. No one appeared fearful or faint-hearted, and though, as I intently gazed upon them, I tried to read in their features some indication of the truth in their minds, yet I could perceive nothing that caused a doubt as to the honesty of their fervid expressions to aid me all in their power. I hoped that I had about me those who would really give me every help, even apart from what their mere line of duty required of them. I was, however, often disappointed in this hope; and except one or two of the seamen, I have since found that it would have been better to have had any kind of men than professedly super-excellent ones—men who come with heaven on their lips but not in their heart. I had some who must evidently have been of this description, or else fit only for an asylum; but, as I could not know this until I had learnt it by experience, I assured every one that, as captain of the ship, I would do all in my power to make them happy and comfortable, and would never place them in any unnecessary danger or peril. That both myself and wife, who accompanied me, performed that pledge, I may be permitted to say none of them can deny—indeed their own letters to me prove it.

p. 34-36, on the island of Ferando de Noronha, a Brazilian penal settlement where he was assigned an interpreter to help in buying food for the ship: The interpreter, I found, was a most intelligent and superior kind of man, speaking and writing very fair English. He was a German by birth, but, as I understood him to say, born of British parents, his father being formerly a merchant of Hull. The name he gave me was

Charles Seymour; and he stated that he had been a soldier officer in the Brazilian service at the time some disturbances had taken place a few years back at Maranhão; that he had been ordered to fire upon the people,—had refused to do so,—had got himself into difficulty with his superiors, and, finally, was sent off to Fernando as a military prisoner. He had been eight years on the island; was married to a coloured woman, and had two children; but he was so badly off that he would be most thankful for any aid I could give him. He earnestly entreated for some cast-off clothing that my wife would spare for him, or his children, I having incidentally mentioned that my wife was on board. A piece of salt meat, good tobacco, and a few English books, would also be a luxury to him; and these, with whatsoever else I could spare, and thought would be proper to give him, I promised.

It was only by snatches that I gathered these particulars from Seymour, for most of the time he was interpreting between the governor and me; nor will I do more here than give the statement, as near as possible, as I heard it from his own lips. There may be many other facts and circumstances connected with his case to destroy the poetry one could not help investing it with; but it was enough for me at the time to find, as a prisoner in a lonely island on the sea, and under foreign rule, one who could claim affinity by birth or immediate descent with my native land. Calling himself an Englishman was sufficient to arouse my sympathies in his favour, particularly when I found he could fluently speak several languages besides my own. Accordingly, I hesitated not to meet his request to the best of my power, and without infringing any of the rules and regulations of the island, so far, at least, as my own common sense told me they must exist. I therefore determined to give to his wife and children whatever I intended he should have, and with this arrangement he was well pleased. He begged of me to accept in return a few old books (some of Miss Edgeworth's Tales), that he had read over and over again until he nearly knew them all by heart and, to oblige him, I accepted the tattered volumes.

p. 108-09: The services this day on board were conducted by the Doctor and myself. I adapted a portion of the Church service to our especial case; and read a prayer for the Society at home as well as abroad.

It may be that some would think I was going out of my especial calling; but not so. As the head of the little family on board it was my duty, as it always is my pleasure, to see the offices of public worship properly attended to, and the worship itself invariably maintained. Perhaps there are no class of men in the world more truly religious than sailors. As a direct proof of this, I might refer to the late Arctic expeditions, and to many of our most noted naval commanders. It is not, however, easily understood. For, to a landsman, the careless, rollicking, light-talking sailor, or the dashing, brave, and perchance *stern* commander, has little about him of the more sober and strongly marked frequenter of his church at home; yet, it is nevertheless true, that inwardly he is a sincere and stedfast believer in the beauties and consolations of religious faith. I hesitate not to say that our sailors, despite all their outward seeming, and their apparent disregard of well-meant pulpit teaching (often of too high a tone, or too cramped a spirit), are, as a whole, anything but the irreligious class many make them out to be. Where will you find more earnest and attentive hearers when a discourse is given them that they can understand? Where men more ready, by their sympathy, their manly aid, their rough but kind attention, and their ever-open purse, to practically illustrate the heavenly doctrines of the blessed Founder of our faith? But their very nature, and their occupation, are against the appearance of what persons of quieter pursuits alone conceive religion to be; and the same remarks apply, I imagine, to our soldiers, and to many on shore who cannot take up with, or admit the superficialities that unfortunately are too often exhibited by even real followers of religion.

p. 110: At breakfast hour, on deck if possible, there was a portion of the psalm for the day; a sentence or two from the Gospel; sometimes a hymn; and then one of the prayers from a little book of my own, called "Daily Service in the Cottage." Occasionally this would be varied by something extempore, if the weather was too rough or circumstances required it. In the evening at eight a similar course was pursued; and, from our arrival at Keppel Island until events occurred that prevented me, I personally carried on this duty. At times when the vessel was at anchor, and the work of the day was over, I would have all hands down

in the cabin, and from some useful or entertaining book give the men an hour's reading; and I believe this was a real good to all of us. I never kept too much to one subject; but whenever I found a particular subject hang heavy, or that my hearers were being too much led away by any light tale that I indulged them with, I immediately, after finishing that work, took up another of a different tendency. This was the case, also, with whatever we fell in with that was new or interesting on shore. If it served to illustrate or at all explain any portion of the day's Scripture, I called their attention to it; as for instance when we first fell in with the herds of wild cattle on the hills of East Falkland, this served to explain Ps. 1. 10, which was the lesson for the day; and so with many other things. On Sundays, in addition to this I performed the morning and evening service, slightly abridged and altered to suit us. But it so happened that no prayer books had been put on board, and had it not been for four or five of my own that fortunately were among my books, we should have been at a loss. However, some months after our arrival at the Falklands, and when on a visit to Stanley, the colonial chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Faulkner, kindly supplied this want. Hymns, according to occasion, and selected from the "Cottage Hymn Book," were sung on the Sundays; and at morning service I read a short sermon from another book of my own, one I had had on several voyages, and called "Sea Sermons." These I had also to slightly alter or omit in some parts; and when anything particular required it, I gave either a written or extempore discourse of my own. That no mistake may arise as to what I did say on such occasions I have thus explained my usual course, and can refer to my papers still by me; and it is also right to say that I was mainly indebted to the useful little publication by Captain F. Harding for the Arctic expeditions, and "A Prayer" for the same expeditions, given me by Lady Franklin.

p. 148-49, a description of Snow's quarters on the Mission schooner: At the fore part of the cabin, above the table, was a portrait of Captain Gardiner [the founder of the Mission]; and swinging from a secure place in another part, was the ship's barometer, my own being in my private cabin. Against the side of the sky light combings was an excellent timepiece of my own, and suspended from proper places was a glass

lamp and a tell tale compass. From the main cabin, two doors, one on either side of the table, led into my private apartments. Both of these rooms opened into each other, were carpeted, and lined with chintz imitating wall-paper. In the right-hand one, many shelves were filled with my books, a collection of my own, and amounting to more than 450 volumes, some of them rather expensive; my nautical instruments ; drawing utensils, tools, and a few pictures, besides my rifle, revolver, double-barrelled pistol, fowling-piece, and sword; the ship's fire-arms, in an oblong chest, turned into a good seat; an Harmonium, one of Alexandra's best, a fine musical-box of large size, a concertina, one or two spyglasses, microscope, lenses, &c. &c.; a two-flap Pembroke table, arm-chair, and a sofa, made of another locker or chest, in which I kept the ship's tobacco and other sundries.

p. 213-14, on approaching the River Plate and Montevideo: It was, however, not my intention to go too far out, neither did I wish to be too close in; for, from everything I had been told or that I had read, I knew that it was necessary to be very careful in entering the River Plate. I had even been written to from home to beware of "the dangerous navigation of the Plate;" and such a caution, coming from the same eminent officer whom I have already alluded to, was not to be despised. But, apart from that, I could tell by my charts and books, that it appeared to well deserve the name given to it by Spaniards, "Mer d'Enfer." Full of banks, and shoals, and shifting sands; with the coast so low on the south that it could not, in some parts, be distinguished from the muddy water, except where, here and there, a bush, like some curious wart, showed, upon the horizon; with shallow soundings even fifty miles from land; and with rapid tides, and occasionally the hurricane "pamperos," it needed no warning from others to mind what I was about. I had been kindly advised at Stanley by Capt. Hope of H.M.S. "Indefatigable" to take the northern passage, and not attempt the south one; but even had I meant to have done so, it would have been difficult with the north-east winds we experienced.

p. 390: The difficulty of getting to the westward appeared very great, unless I took time and watched every opportunity. Yet to lay about at anchor in wild and desolate places is almost as bad, in one sense, as

being in gales of wind; for, in the latter, you do have something to give employment to your men, whereas, in the former, nothing at all can be done, not even, in most cases, the ordinary work of the ship. As to myself, I was never troubled with *ennui*. I ever had, in my books and studies, constant occupation; but the case was vastly different with my men. To them a day at anchor in an open roadstead was a day completely wasted, mentally and bodily—nor could I help it. It was therefore anything but desirable to lay too long in one place, even if the only change made was that of going a few miles.

Volume II:

p. 37-38, interviewing a native named Jemmy Button: I now began to question Jemmy; and to try and draw him out. But he was so confused that, beyond disjointed sentences, I obtained, at that time, very little information from him. One important point, however, I did ascertain; and this was as to the language of his people. Taking from my bookshelves Captain Fitzroy's narrative, I went over several words in the vocabulary, and found that the Tekeenica column was correct. By it, so far as it goes, some communication can be held with the natives in these parts, though not with those in the Beagle Channel or at Banner Cove. The portraits of himself and the his combed hair, washed face, and dandy dress, with the polished boots it is said he so much delighted in: perhaps he was asking himself which, after all, was the best,—the prim and starch, or the rough and shaggy? Which he thought, he did not choose to say; but which I inferred he thought was gathered from his refusal to go anywhere again with us. Of England he, however, spoke with much grateful feeling. “Yes: me know—Ingliss conetree: vary good—you flag, me know (meaning that he had understood the British Ensign that I had hoisted at the main); yes: much good—all good in Ingliss conetree—long way—me sick in hammock—vary bad—big water sea—me know Capen Fitzoy [sic]—Byno—Bennet—Walamstow—Wilson—Ingliss lady, you wife?” and on being told yes, he added, alluding to my wife's fresh-coloured countenance and at that time healthy appearance, “ah! Ingliss ladies vary pretty vary pretty!” And so it was with many other things, but especially our canary, a

splendid songster, which several times elicited from him “vary pretty bird!”

I took him into my library, and showed him several of the articles arranged there—wisely, I cannot now say, for it perhaps recalled too much to him: nevertheless I showed him all that I thought might bring back to his mind the past—my books—pictures—instruments—fire arms—toilet materials and ladies' fancy articles, concerning all of which he kept constantly expressing his delight, and naming some of them without hesitation, and others after a slight difficulty. A fine musical box gave him intense pleasure; and when I played a Harmonium, one of Alexandre's, he stood beside me as if entranced. He said it was “oh! vary good—all Ingliss vary good!”

p. 39, on visiting the Mission schooner: He told me about “Matews” the Missionary, and “bad fellow York—gone, long time to other conetree!” At Woollya he said “sometime plenty fight—‘nother conetryman come there. Now no feels (fields) for eat, but good feels for *look*.” (Meaning, nothing growing there now, but might be made to grow, as the ground was good, &c.) “He never live there now, only little time. By and by he go over to Woollya and look again.”—“ ‘Spose I come p’raps I find him there.” “I tell Bennet—Capen Fitzoy—Mit. Wilson, he member them,— ‘Spose Inglis conetree too long way—vary good conetree, but much water—make sick— plenty hammock,” and this he repeated several times.

He said “when I show the Ingliss flag, he knew good ship, and he come see.” In reply to a question I put as to any vessel or European strangers having been there since Captain Fitzroy, he distinctly intimated that none had come. “No:—no ship—Capen Fitzoy—you;” but I can hardly believe it possible that he could so retain a knowledge of our language if unvisited by any Englishman during the interval that elapsed since Captain Fitzroy's last interview with him. But as I repeated the question again and again, and received the same answer, I can do nothing but give it. Perhaps he may have misunderstood the question; yet, as he never hinted of any other visitors having been there, I can now hardly think so; though, at first, so strange was the whole affair that I was for a long time incredulous. He asked my name and my wife's, also

the ship's; and upon his desiring a book, I gave him two or three, with some particulars of our visit written in one.

p. 149, on encountering two men who intentionally stranded themselves on Keppel Island, and were reluctant to leave their hermitage:

Accordingly the next morning I called all hands to me, and, after consulting with my mate, briefly informed the men what I intended to do. "My men," I said, "I wish you to well understand me. The two persons on shore for whose lives I am made personally responsible are coming alongside, as they yesterday arranged, to get some more provisions. They will be here in the small ship's boat that I lent them, and which belongs to the ship. Therefore overhaul the boat's falls in the waist, and the moment they come up to the gang way and touch the ship, you, Griffin, go down into the boat and haul her ahead under the davits; another of you then jump down, and both of you hook on, whilst the rest make a flying run and hoist the boat chock up. But—and mind this particularly—don't one of you molest or touch with your hands either of them, even though they should molest you. Whether they will or no, they shall not any longer, if I can help it, make me thus responsible. Deaths, either by starvation or by mental aberration, or by any other cause, voluntary or involuntary, shall not again occur in this mission while I have the smallest power to prevent it, even though I should ultimately be made to suffer. So be careful, men, and do what I have told you promptly and steadily." [It makes an interesting story over the next five pages but the net result was that the two hermits returned to shore apart from any authority of Captain Snow, who dismissed them as "Madmen" (p. 153).

p. 174, on a Mr. Schmid used by the Mission to teach German to Patagonian natives: While I was speaking to Mrs. W—, some one came out from a door behind me, and she said, "Here is Mr. Schmid." Turning round, I was, I must confess, so amazed and disappointed at beholding the gentleman who had come out under that high-sounding title, that I could hardly speak to him. However, shaking hands, we soon got chatting together on the affairs of the mission; but, poor fellow, I found that the talk was necessarily nearly all on my own side. He knew nothing

of the Society's affairs except that the missionary was to have left England soon after he did, and, therefore, might be daily expected. As I had not then been for my letters, I knew nothing but that this was probable; but in an hour or two afterwards I was undeceived. However, reverting again to poor Mr. Schmid, let me here give an outline of his history, so far as connected with our undertaking, and present to the public another curious picture in the “getting up” of a missionary scheme.

p. 174-75: It was, I believe, at the end of 1854 that Mr. Schmid, a young and perfectly inexperienced person, born in Germany, was in a training college somewhere near Basle. One day he was asked if he would go to Patagonia; and, though he had originally thought of Texas, he, leaving the matter in the hands of his principal, did not hesitate about Patagonia. Well, without any stipulation as to pay, board, or anything else, he was packed off, and, like other bales of goods received by Mr. Secretary, duly arrived at his house, and was installed there as any similar piece of useful furniture. He knew nothing of English, but it suited Mr. Secretary to have him in the house, without pay, teaching him and his children German. At the end of a twelvemonth, when the mission began to flag in interest, it was thought well to put young Schmid forward in his capacity as “linguist and interpreter” to the mission; and, thus placarded and announced, behold he was one day informed that he had been appointed “linguist, &c.,” and he would have an annual salary of 40*l* per annum, and *find himself*. This salary, moreover, was not to commence till he had arrived at the mission station on Keppel Island! Even he was startled at this; and though he made no demur, nor asked any questions about the stipend, — I believe he would have been frightened to do so, —yet he did venture to ask the price of provisions abroad, and he was told that for six shillings per week he could keep himself! And, moreover, his expenses to Monte Video being paid, he would be allowed a certain sum to help him on thence to the Falkland Islands, as there was a fortnightly communication between the two places (which I had repeatedly stated in my letters home was not the case), and that he was to make the best of his way to the station, &c., taking Mrs. W—under his charge. I need not

repeat all he told me of his mishaps, nor the life he led on board the ship he came out in. Suffice it to say that “Mr. Theophilus Schmid, Linguist and Interpreter to the Patagonian Mission,” was duly despatched, with his instructions, public and private,— the public ones being, of course, all right enough, —the private ones, as he told me, intimating that he should act as a spy upon his brother workers in the mission. In proof, it will be enough to mention that he really did this; and that, on the passage out, he not only opened the sealed letters entrusted to his care for the consul and the chaplain, and one of my crew, but actually read them, and allowed them to be read all over the vessel! His excuse was that his master had bade him study epistolary correspondence, and that he would better please his employers if he carefully observed and noted, and then reported home, all the doings of those with whom he was henceforth to be associated.... Meanwhile I took Mr. Schmid on board, but found, as I said in a letter to the Society at home, that it was like having a baby to deal with. He wanted and expected in that small ship a separate table and lights, that he might study Hebrew and Greek; he knew nothing of the world; was always making lamentable mistakes, and would cry if spoken to by any one.

p. 217-19, on lack of amusements in Stanley, the Falklands: The absence of all amusement at Stanley is, in my opinion, a great drawback to its welfare. As I have once before said, there is fortunately neither newspaper nor lawyer; but if there were a good lecturer, or amateur dramatic company, I believe it would be vastly beneficial. I am not at liberty here, from want of space and other reasons, to discuss the advantages of rational amusement; but I may briefly say that I consider no scheme of education, religious or otherwise, should be without it. A man may study so hard that at last he actually becomes a part of that which he has been studying. How often do we find this the case! and how clearly this explains the monomania one occasionally beholds on particular subjects. What is amusement may be another thing; but my own impression is, that whatever gives relief to the mind without impairing the body is amusement; and such amusement cannot be wrong, no matter what it is. If there were such at Stanley, I have no

doubt it would be of vast benefit, providing it were under proper and official control; for, in small and distant communities no good can ever come of people being left to themselves, The necessity for some moral and social improvement was so evident to His Excellency the present Governor on his arrival, that he gave every encouragement to the formation of intellectual gatherings among the colonists. A Reading Room was established, and, I believe, is now tolerably well supported; a Total Abstinence Society was also formed, and speedily had several members; and a Cricket Club attempted, though without much success. With regard to the Reading Room, I need hardly say that I felt it my duty to do what I could in aid of it. In addition to a donation, I sent some books and pamphlets, and did all in my power to help it. I believe its most active supporter—that is, of those who were not of the working classes, for whom it was more especially intended—was Mr. Havers, the Colonial Manager of the Falkland Island Company, a gentleman of rare and varied talent and ability. But as to the other Society, it was mainly established by working men themselves, under the patronage of His Excellency, who liberally subscribed to this, as well as to the Reading Room. For myself, not approving of teetotalism as a principle, though well enough as a possible means to an end, I could do nothing but candidly say so; and, while I forwarded a similar donation to that which I had given to the Reading Room, and even joined with Mr. Havers and Mr. Brooke, the magistrate, in giving a lecture for its benefit, besides taking its members in the vessel for a few hours' trip outside, yet I could never conscientiously say I approved of it. There was, however, one other thing done by the Governor in which, heart and soul, I could cordially join: this was the making a suitable church.

p. 268-69, in Falklands the Chief Constable of Stanley tries to impound Snow's schooner illustrating the legal and practical importance of ships' papers: The Constable having now come on board, I again demanded his business; whereupon he began to read, as well as he could,—for he was in this respect very imperfect,—a warrant addressed to some one with a different Christian name to myself, and moreover in other respects informal, as my two mates and myself easily saw. I therefore at once

objected, and said, "Chief Constable of Stanley, Her Majesty's Government here having cleared me for sea, I must request that, unless you want to take a passage with me, you will vacate this vessel, the paper in your hands not being addressed to any one on board of the name there mentioned; and moreover it is informal. Have you any other document or authority to give you power for remaining another moment against my wish on the deck of a vessel I command?" "You don't choose to admit this, then?" said he. "You know it is to you; and I tell you I am here to stop the vessel from going to sea." "No doubt, quite right, Chief Constable," I replied; "but I must see and have in my possession some better proof of your authority than what you have been reading to me,—as far as I could understand your reading it,—therefore, I must decline to lose this fair wind by longer attention to you. Good-day,"—and then walking forward I cheered the men, who were working lustily at the windlass.

... Accordingly I proceeded with the work of getting ready for sea; whereupon Parry came forward in a very flustered manner, and sang out, "I command you, in her Majesty's name, to stop heaving in the anchor!" At the sound of Her Majesty's name, I, expecting this, quietly said to the men who still worked on, looking at me for orders, "You hear this, men! In Her Majesty's name you are ordered by an officer of the Crown to desist. If you take my advice you will instantly do so. It is not my order, for I have nothing legally placed in my hands that would enable me to issue such an order. But it will be at your peril if you resist Her Majesty's official servant." It was done! hardly a second elapsed before the men had left off, as ordered by the Constable, and from that moment the ship was in the hands of the civil power!

p. 310, Snow's diatribe in the Appendix: Before doing this, it is necessary that I say a few words on the subject, generally, of Missions abroad, lest in some things I be misunderstood on both sides of the question. I dislike extremes of any kind. Even philanthropy may be made nauseous by the mistaken, yet probably well meant zeal of ardent votaries in some particular cause. Many persons deem their own course of benevolent action the best; and either rail against, or level quiet sarcasm at that course which deviates from their own. This is

conspicuously seen in many of the annual gatherings at certain places; and it is a sad blot upon what under some circumstances would present a fair surface. But the mass of the people are becoming too intelligent not to perceive what is and what is not the true spirit of Christian love and charity. It is a sad and a painful thing to any one who loves what is honest and sincere in any benevolent work to find so much of absurdity connected with it. Excitement is often got up, by some fluent speaker and subtle orator, in order that money may be obtained to support those who have chosen to introduce this new idea. As a writer, now before me, says:—"I would not take away one jot from the respect due to religion, or raise an impious voice against any body of men acting as a society for the good of their fellow men; and we do neither when we say that many of these meetings got up by new societies partake more, in their way of doing business, of the claptrap than the simple method adopted by Christ to benefit mankind; and that the money annually raised by this means, so far from producing to any practical extent even the good intended, serves only to support a set of officers in a genteel style, whose sole and pleasant duty appears to be simply to talk and write about that good.

* * * * Charity is a lovely, and Religion a holy thing; but there is often too much, in some of these meetings, more of anything else than true charity or religion. They are mere exhibitions, in which the speakers, who are generally clergymen, are the heroes; where contributors of the money are the victims; and where, except in a very few of the societies, no one is the gainer save the officers and agents who absorb most, if not all, of the contributions in the way of their salaries." Thus far what another says; and I regret to add that painful experience compels me, as regards one Society, to corroborate his remarks. But I would not go the extreme length that some do, in speaking against all missionary labour abroad. Much of it is undoubtedly mistaken, or unwisely carried on; but there is also much that is good. One of my main objects in writing this book has been to draw attention to the subject of missionary enterprise both in its real and ideal good: to divest it of the false halo which surrounds it in the eyes of numbers of its admirers, who conceive that anything bearing the name must be pure and estimable; and to elevate it, where sincere, in the sight of those who, on account of that false halo by

them easily seen through, can only view it as a medium for much hypocrisy, cant, and spiritual pride. True missionary labour is not what generally goes under that denomination in the present day. For proof of this I would take the example of those who, staff in hand, and scrip by side, went forth by two and two at a time from Galilee, at the bidding of their Master, and taught as they were told to do. I would also take up the early apostles, and, above all, that great practical missionary, Paul of Tarsus, he, the once disciple of the Jew Gamaliel, who laboured with his own hands rather than be a burden to the Church. I would even call forward the much-reviled Jesuits, who, whatever might be their error—if error there be (and GOD, not man, is the fitting Judge), have gone further and deeper, and more perseveringly than any of their co-religionists, in the work of attempting to humanise their fellow creatures far afield. True missionaries they! With HIM they served alone for their guide and dependence, have they not gone where few others—until lately in Africa—have ventured? Have they not patiently, and well and wisely, endured? Have they not unceasingly, and with firmness, borne perils, and dangers, and sufferings, which very few in the present day encounter? If they plant a creed of error according to our ideas, how know we that it may not be for good amongst those who receive it, and who have heretofore worshipped—if they worshipped any thing—but the idols of their own hands, or the hosts of heaven? Unlike the well-paid missionary of some amongst us, these pupils of a creed we so much despise and abuse, go forth, almost penniless, into unknown regions; and by their own labour, or by the chance help of others, strive to implant among the wild people they visit the knowledge they themselves have gained. From place to place they wander, teaching, inculcating, and practically illustrating what they preach; and years gone by, did these Jesuit missionaries travel into lands of the West, and East, and North and South, which until lately were never visited by other civilised beings. I do not say that their acts were always good: I would not hold up their principles and their mode of dealing with their converts as those to be imitated. God forbid! I But I do put them forth as an example of true single-mindedness, of perseverance, of unflinching determination, and patient endurance. And like to these are, I believe, others of a

denomination considered almost equally as much out of the pale of the Church of England as they,—the Moravians. Here we have men going forth to earn their daily bread in unknown lands, to toil, to struggle, and to bear, even as they would, and perhaps more than they would at home; and yet doing the work of a missionary also. Different from this, however, is the case of one who, with great *éclat*, and moneyed help, goes forth with his various servants under different denominations—as surgeon, catechist, carpenters, interpreters, governess for his family, &c. &c., besides his household goods of every kind, in the shape of hundreds of books, pianoforte, &c. &c. This latter may say he is going to do so and so; he may even state that he has done so and so ; and by the false glare which surrounds him he may possibly dazzle the eyes of many; but will not the sober-thinking mind ask the question,—What is it he is really going to do? —and what is it *proved* that he has done?

p. 317, Snow's apoplectic conclusion about his mission experience: But this let me say. Reader, whoever you are, and particularly if you are a seaman, I conjure you, as you value one grain of happiness, peace, or fair-dealing, and if you have the smallest regard to your own welfare, go rather to the Sioux Indians, — work, slave, ship as a man before the mast in any trawler, rather than go in the confidence of your heart and trust to a self-styled Missionary Society newly started up; or, if you do engage yourself to such, I conjure you to get the most skilful legal advice you can find before entering into any agreement. Be chary of everything; doubt; examine; hesitate; prove; test; try in every possible manner, even as you would, and more so than if you were engaged with those the world is generally most cautious with. In any agreement you may make, have every possible contingency provided for. Think over it; sleep over it; inquire about it; and again and again read every word, and spell every letter, to be sure you are safe; if not, the chances are that, whenever you are found in the way, you will be tossed, like a stale fish, upon the first bare rock in a distant part of the ocean, and left to get off in the best manner you can,—as I was. A true mission to the Fuegians, however, I warmly advocate; but I must be permitted to say that—from my knowledge of the Society's past doings—I strongly speak against their plans. For, from the very first moment I had a correct knowledge of

their real intentions, I felt myself bound honestly to express disapproval; and a determination, as a British shipmaster, personally amenable to the laws, not to have anything to do with such plans. It will be enough to say that the society not being incorporated, and I the only individual attached to it, recognised by law—being the legal master of the ship—their deeds were but the acts of private individuals, while mine were necessarily official. It was therefore solely because of my “opposition to their plans” that I was made to leave the vessel belonging to the Society.

1856-60 American Whaling Expedition (a Captain Lawrence aboard *Addison*)

Lawrence, Mary Chipman. *The Captain's Best Mate. The Journal of Mary Chipman Lawrence on the Whaler Addison 1856-1860.* Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1966.

Not strictly polar but the *Addison* rounded Cape Horn in 1856:
p. 4: December 7. Another Sabbath has dawned upon us. It seems somewhat different from the other days, even here. No one unnecessarily employed, most of the company engaged in reading, it *seems* like a day of rest. But no Sabbath bell greets our ear, no holy man of God proclaims to us the glad tidings of the Gospel.
p. 235, May 30, 1860 at end of voyage: Commenced packing for home today. Packed a basket of books and three boxes of books and clothing.
p. 298, notes cite journal of George Bowman Dec 1859 at Providence, and comment on keeping Sabbath by rotating the days to avoid days when whales were hunted: “It is a very wrong thing to shift the days so as to suit ones convenience.” Also on p. 301 Bowman speaks of bad discipline aboard ship: “I am now reading a book called *The Voices of the Dead* by the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., from whence I derive sweet consolation.”

1866-69 American Whaling Expedition to Indian and Pacific Oceans

Tobey, Warren B. *The Cabin Boy's Log: Scenes and Incidents on a New Bedford Whaler, Written from the Journal as Kept by the Lad on a Three Years' Voyage in the Indian and Pacific Oceans.* (Boston: Meador, 1932).

p. 18, the Nov. 1866, preparations for the trip of this 15-year old included writing material, a New Testament, and the Episcopal Prayer Book. No indication throughout that he ever used them. Elsewhere there are several passages about pastimes, scrimshaw, boat models but nothing about reading. Notable for the cruelty of the captain to the cabin boy and the sailors.

1869-70

Wooldridge, Emily. *The Wreck of The Maid of Athens, Being the Journal of Emily Wooldridge 1869-1870.* (New York: Macmillan, 1953).

The wreck occurred somewhere between the River Platt and the Falklands. Another account by a Captain's wife of a life aboard an apparently pious whaleman.

p. 26: In my sleeping cabin I had...shelves over my bed on which were my books.

p. 27: I never find the time wearying or monotonous on board ship: woolwork, reading, being on deck and watching the waves break....

p. 28: Then on Sunday afternoon the Boy would come on the poop and repeat the Commandments, some hymns, and finish up by reading a chapter of the Bible; soon after we would have prayers in which the whole ship's company would join.

1871-74 American Whaling Expedition to Indian Ocean (aboard A. R. Tucker)

Ricketson, Annie Holmes. *The Journal of Annie Holmes Ricketson on the Whaleship A. R. Tucker, 1871-1874.* (New Bedford, MA: Old Dartmouth Historical Society, 1958).

One of the honeymoon voyages, complete with child born in Fayal, and dead within a day, then rounding the Cape of Good Hope, sailing 3500 miles to Australia, and two years cruising in the Molucca Passage. The voyage ended after four months cruising in the mid-Atlantic to bring back a full cargo of whale oil. Ricketson took two more voyages. She is a reader but as so often in women's journals mentions no titles.

p. 13: June 25th: This has been a long day and everything is so quiet. Time does not pass so quickly aboard of a whale ship as it does at home, no getting ready and going to Church no taking tea with a friend, no Interesting Meeting to go to in the evening and a nice pleasant walk home after the meeting.

p. 15: July 24th: Such a noisy time as they have had today. Been coopering oil. I have been sewing on my Thin dress getting ready to go ashore. Daniel [her husband] has finished my birth day present. The Book Case. It is a real beautie. Saw whales today.

p. 16: August 14th: It has been a very warm day. Daniel and I washed this forenoon and I have sewed some and read some. Daniel has began a writin desk for me out of Mahogany. Been to work on It most all day.

p. 25: November 19th: It has been a long day but past away after a while with reading writing and a nape and some music.

p. 27, at St. Paul, Indian Ocean: December 23rd : It was so nice and warm I took my work and book and went on deck. While sitting their Daniel come and wanted to know if I would like to go out sailing a little ways. Of course I was all ready to go So I got into the boat and we were soon sailing along nicely.

p. 32, in the Moluccas. February 20th: I received 3 letters from home and three papers.

p. 77, in Atlantic. August 20th [1874]: This forenoon raised a ship [*Cornelius Howland*] and Daniel see that he was not going to be able to take care of all his oil so had a flag put up the main and another to the peak. The vessel soon changed her course and come for us, come right acrost our stern and I got up on the potatoe pen so had a nice view of her. Daniel had been one short voyage in her. The Capt come aboard about quarter of twelve. Daniel wanted him to take the two [whale]

heads by the halves but he did not care to as he had blubber on his deck. The Capt's name was Homan only three weeks and four days from home he brought us a bundle of late papers. There were a few New Bedford papers among them and he only stopped aboard of us a short time we were so busy.

1872- Private British Voyage to Sandwich Islands (Cunard Line)

Wood, C. F. *A Yachting Cruise in the South Seas*. London: H. S. King and Co., 1875.

p. 6-7, Chapter I: The weather now was intensely hot and fine, and that feeling of drowsiness and languor came over me, which I have always experienced on first reaching the tropics. Reading becomes a delusion and a snare, and to take up a book means to be asleep in a few minutes. On Sunday, May 11th, we sighted Rotumah. This was the first island I intended visiting, my object here being to ship some of the natives, to strengthen my present crew. No one ought to attempt a voyage through the South Sea Islands without carrying an extra crew of this kind. For in the first place there are so many islands where there is no anchorage or perhaps a very precarious one, that it is better to keep the vessel standing off and on, worked by the white crew, while those who wish to visit the island go away in the boat manned by the South Sea Islanders. A coloured crew, too, are better able to row about all day in the hot sun; they are cheery, light-hearted companions, and are always ready, and enjoy the fun of diving into the water after any shell or piece of coral that one may fancy whilst rowing over the reefs.

p. 45, re smaller islands of the Sandwiches: Futuna and the smaller island Alofa were discovered as long ago as 1617, by two Dutchmen, Le Maire and Schouten, who first rounded Cape Horn, which owes its name to their birth-place. They were in search of the supposed great southern continent, but failing to find it, went on to Batavia. These islands were known to the Tongans, for we read in Mariner's work how Cou Moala, a Tongan chief, started on a roving expedition in the spirit

of a knight-errant, and how he was driven by a gale to this place, where the people seized all he was possessed of, according to the custom of their country, some of the plunder was then offered to their gods, the remainder divided among the chiefs. However, when the strangers wished to depart, those who had shared the plunder were compelled to fit them out again.

The habit of plundering all shipwrecked strangers was also indulged in at Fiji, only that the strangers were generally eaten as well as plundered.

p. 181-84, quoted from the Dutch cruise of the *Roggewein* in 1722: Terrible liars were some of these old navigators, or perhaps they allowed other people to lie for them. Take for instance the cruise of Roggewein, a Dutchman, in 1722. He discovered Easter Island, and gives an interesting account of it. But in Dalrymple's collection of voyages there is an extract from the Dutch relation of Roggewein's voyage.

Here it is stated that when Roggewein was on the point of anchoring at Easter Island, "there came off to them a boat managed by a single man, a giant of twelve feet high, who exerted all his strength to escape us but in vain, for he was surrounded and taken." The writer then goes on with a description of the Dutchmen landing, which smacks more of the Odyssey than anything else: —

"On the 10th of April we made for the island in our boats, well armed in order to take a view of this country, where an innumerable multitude of savages stood on the seaside to guard the shore and obstruct our landing; they threatened us mightily with gestures, and showed an inclination to await us and turn us out of their country, but as soon as we, through necessity, gave them a discharge of our muskets, and here and there brought one of them to the ground, they lost their courage. They made the most surprising motions and gestures in the world, and viewed their fallen companions with the utmost astonishment, wondering at the wounds which the bullets had made in their bodies, whereupon they hastily fled, with a dreadful howling, dragging their dead bodies along with them.

“So the shore was cleared and we landed in safety. Thus far my narrative will gain credit, because it contains nothing uncommon. Yet I must declare that all these savages are of more than a gigantic size, for the men being twice as tall as the largest of our people, they measured one with another the height of twelve feet. So that we could easily — who will not wonder at it? — without stooping have passed between the legs of these sons of Goliath. But none of their wives come up to the height of the men, being commonly not above ten or eleven feet. The men had their bodies painted with a red or dark brown, and the women with a scarlet colour.

“I doubt not that most people who read this voyage will give no credit to what I relate, and that this account of the height of these giants will probably pass for a mere fable or fiction, but this I declare, that I have put down nothing but the real truth, and that this people, upon the nicest inspection, were in fact of such a surpassing height as I have here described.”

All this is very strange, but it is still stranger that when Captain Cook visited this island some years after, he found that the natives had assumed the average size of the human race. [Shades of *Gulliver's Travels*.]

p. 189: In addition to these there were three white men living in one house, with a large suite of half-castes of both sexes. They told me they had recently arrived from Pleasant Island. They had lighted on the place like a pestilence ; and now, finding there was not much that suited them at this island, they were anxious to leave again, and begged me to take them to an island called Providence, which I found, on looking at the chart, lay considerably to the north. It appears there are only sixty to seventy natives there; and they gave me the paucity of the natives as one reason why they wished to be taken there. This I refused to do point blank; for with their retinue of about twenty Pleasant Island natives and half-castes of both sexes, they would soon have crushed, demoralized, and possibly enslaved a miserable population of sixty....

p. 190-91: Such men as these, capable of lending themselves to any villainy, should be wiped off the face of the earth. When they told me they came from Pleasant Island, I took down a book from my shelf, and

read them the following extracts from the log of a vessel that visited that island: "This island is infested by Europeans, who are either runaway convicts, expirees, or deserters from whalers, and are for the most part men of the worst description. They live in a manner easily to be imagined from men of this class — without either law, religion, or education to control them, with an unlimited quantity of ardent spirits which they obtain from distilling the toddy that exudes from the cocoa-nut tree. When under the influence of intoxication, the most atrocious crimes are committed by these miscreants. These fiends frequently urge the different tribes to warrant deeds of blood, in order to participate in the spoils of the vanquished. They are in constant dread of each other, and by their deeds even horrify the untutored savage."

The extract I quoted went on to say that on one occasion eleven Europeans were deliberately murdered by a monster named Jones. "He invited them all to a feast, and when he had got his victims intoxicated with the island spirit, he gave them food in which he had previously mixed poison. This proved fatal to seven. The remaining four having refused to eat, he watched his opportunity and shot them. Vain and futile will be the attempt to introduce Christianity and civilization, while these miscreants are permitted to remain with the natives, corrupting them by their baneful example and selfish advice, introducing intoxication and disease in its many horrible forms, and teaching these naturally mild and tractable men the grossest depravity."

p. 217-18: Hence it is that laughter, song, and dance are everywhere suppressed, and the natives supposed to be on perpetual "Sunday behaviour." The melancholy consequence of this is, that the so-called Christian congregations grow up to be a set of hypo-critical humbugs.

It would be a far pleasanter task to sit down and write a glowing account of the success of missions, and the wonderful spread of Christianity, but I cannot do it with truth. No one can deny that the missions have done much good, but I do not think that the result corresponds to the reports of the various societies or that the subscriptions are judiciously laid out. The Christian religion as introduced by our missionaries in the South Seas, appears to pass over a country like a tidal wave, that presently recedes and leaves it worse than

ever, as witness the results in New Zealand and Fiji. And I think this in a great measure arises from a want of method. We take away from converted natives their dancing, their singing, and their manly sports, but nothing is given to supply their place. I believe that this dancing and singing and wrestling, &c. were natural and necessary habits of exercise to them, and in taking these away we ought to have sent out missionaries to teach them some useful trade such as carpentering, boat-building, &c., for without such habits of industry their moral condition can never be improved. Many intelligent Christian natives have told me that with the introduction of Christianity a kind of stupor has fallen on the people — they become idle and shiftless.

1872-76 *Challenger* Expedition of Natural History (George Nares, Frank Thompson)

It is doubtful that many if any expeditionary ships had more brain power than the *Challenger*, whose scientific reports comprised 50 volumes and whose work founded the field of oceanography. The “scientifics” aboard seemed something of a debating society, arguing the nature of sediments at different depths. The Antarctic portion of the voyage began in December 1873, starting in January 1874 in the desolate subantarctic islands of Kerguelen, Heard, the Crozets, reached the Great Ice Barrier, and the ship beat its retreat to Australia on February 25, less than two months.

Corfield, Richard. *The Silent Landscape: The Scientific Voyage of HMS Challenger*. Washington, DC: Joseph Henry Press, 2003.

Corfield concentrates on the science of the expedition without neglecting the human relations of the scientifics. One notable chapter is called “The Library of Time,” in which the biological remains dredged from the ocean body, tiny creations which would eventually yield the details of earth’s climatic and oceanographic history: For the geologist and oceanographer there is simply nothing to match the detailed

information trapped in the sediment of the deep sea; it is the library of time. [p. 135].

Corfield next describes the nature of the Antarctic Convergence, cold currents including melting icebergs making Antarctica the earth's coldest continent [e.g. -129°F at Vostok on 7/21/83.]

[These subsurface cores are analogous to the ice cores taken from polar regions that constitutes the historical climatic archives, a different kind of library of time, as shown in the next chapter "The Lost World".

Linklater, Eric. *The Voyage of the Challenger*. (New York: Doubleday, 1972).

Speaks here and there of the boredom of a scientific voyage that dredged ocean bottoms thousands of times through the ocean world. Dredging was known as "drudging" and even some desertions were attributed to boredom.

p. 24: The end of both trawl-net and dredge-net was commonly lined with what was called 'bread-bag stuff', to prevent small animals from being washed out; and despite the greater efficiency of the trawl, the tedium of the operation was not much diminished. Here, at the very start of that long, immensely useful, and uncommonly entertaining voyage, there became evident its essential paradox: a great adventure and a vast reward of knowledge would be paid for by many months of industrious boredom.

Matkin, Joseph. *At Sea with the Scientifics: The Challenger Letters of Joseph Matkin*. Edited by Philip F. Rehbock. (Honolulu, HA: University of Hawaii Press, 1992).

p. 17, Introduction: Books and newspapers were no doubt available in the ship's library, which during a portion of the voyage was in the charge of Matkin's immediate supervisor, the ship's steward. In addition, a special collection of scientific and travel books was taken aboard explicitly for the expedition (see Appendix E), although these were probably reserved for the use of the scientific staff and may not

have been readily available to Matkin. It is also possible that bulletin's describing the ship's ports of call were posted for the crew's edification. Finally, Matkin himself on more than one occasion mentions visiting a library ashore.

p. 17: One cannot avoid being struck by the apparent scholarly urge of this young sailor.... The Victorian spirit of "self-help" and "improvement" through education and perseverance, as articulated in the widely read works of Samuel Smiles, my well be behind these efforts [to make a good impression]. Testimony for this ethos is especially clear in Matkin's letter to his mother on the occasion of his brother Will's enlistment in the army: "His education ought to prove of great service to him in getting promotion & he will have ample time & means of improving himself, for they have splendid reading rooms attached to those regiments."

p. 27: We had a short service in the morning, the Captain officiates for we are not allowed a Chaplain, only Ships carrying 295 carrying 295 men & upwards are allowed a chaplain & we have only 242 on board

p. 31: We have a first rate library on board & a good many of the magazines are sent out gratis; we have also a harmonium but the ship has been too unsteady to cast it adrift yet—I hope to have a time now and then.

p. 103-04, Matkin while at Bahia in September 1873 "complained to his mother again that too little information was passed down to the crew." "You will read better accounts of these islands—and of the 2 men whom we are bringing away [recent rescues]—in the newspapers, for the scientifics have nothing else to do but go on shore & gather their information for the papers."

p. 132, Jan. 1874. Here Matkin gives a lengthy paragraph on the history of the Kerguelen Islands, something he must have based on the ship's books.

p. 172-23, Tongtabu, Friendly Islands, July 23rd, 1874, about the principal church on the island: It would hold about 800, I would think; there is a nice organ & the singing is first rate. There are other places of worship 7 several schools &c, where the native teachers instruct, under

the missionary. Nearly all of the younger natives can and many can write.

p. 194-95, Arras Islands, March 1874: There is a book on board written by an American—Professor Beckford—describing his visit to these islands, & his perilous ascent of; the burning mountain. ... there is also a picture of him hanging on to [by] his eyebrows to the side of the mountain with all the blocks of lava cinders rolling from under his feet.

p. 288, on Tahiti, July 1875, after the Bligh mutiny, when only two mutineers were left: A great change then took place in the moral character of these two men: they discovered an old Bible & Prayer book, & this led them to alter their way of life. They observed the Sabbath, taught their wives & children, & began to live honest Christian lives.

p. 335, Matkin's last letter, June 11, 1876, at Chatham Dockyard, when the men were paid off and discharged: ...several of those who were entitled took their discharges from the Navy—myself among the number—finding Sea-life naught but vanity, and vexation of Spirit, especially the latter—my opinion of it coinciding with that of Dr. Samuel Johnson's AD 1776—with which quotation I will conclude my long series of letters from H.M.S. "Challenger":

A ship is worse than a Jail. There is, in a Jail, better air, better company, better conveniency of every kind: & a ship has the additional disadvantage of being in danger. When men come to like the se-life, they are not fit to live on land.

Men go to sea, before they know the unhappiness of that way of life; & when they have come to know it, they cannot escape from it, because it is then too late to choose another profession; as indeed is generally the case with men when they have engaged in any particular way of life. [16 March 1759 in a letter to James Boswell]

p. 359, Appendix E: "List of Books for H.M.S. 'Challenger' "

According to the published Narrative (vol. I, pt. I, p. 4);

The Library consisted of several hundred volumes, including

Voyages, Travels, standard works on Zoology, Botany, Chemistry,

Transactions and Proceedings of Societies, &c. These were either supplied by the Admiralty, or were the property of the Scientific Staff. It does not appear that any useful purpose would be served by giving list of these books.

A List of Books for H.M.S. "Challenger" dated 20 Decr. 1872 follows, p. 359-70.

Moseley, Henry N. *Notes by a Naturalist on the Challenger, being an Account of Various Observations Made during the Voyage of H.M.S. "Challenger" ... 1872-1876.* (London: Macmillan, 1879).

Moseley views most things from the viewpoint of a naturalist but brings a sympathetic humanity to everything he observes. One would have been fortunate to travel on the *Challenger* with him.

p. 80-81, Sept, 1873, on the Brazilian convict island of Fernando do Norhona, 200 miles from the South American coast, and visited by Darwin on the *Beagle*. Moseley visited the island with Captain Nares: I was told that there was a garrison of about 120 men on the island, and that these, with a few officials, constituted the entire non-convict population. There were said to be 1,400 convicts on the island. They are all let loose during the day-time, the blacks being locked up at night whilst the whites are allowed to live in their huts with their families, if they have any. They have to answer a roll-call daily, and are flogged if they fail.

They are all criminals, political prisoners not being confined here; many of them are murderers, capital punishment not being exacted in Brazil. They have as a rule a horribly ruffianly appearance, especially the blacks, and being mostly half naked they appear especially savage.

... Two-thirds of the convicts had been flogged during the last seven months. He [an interpreter] said he himself had had a misfortune and had got 64 years' imprisonment. He had bought off 20 of these. He would like a bible and some newspapers. He would sooner die than be flogged. His statements must be taken for what they are likely to be worth.

p. 114, on Tristan da Cunha: A mouse lives about the houses in the settlement, but there is no rat on the island.

This I gathered from conversation with some of the islanders in one of the cottages; the walls of which were decorated all over with pictures from illustrated newspapers. Several of the women were dark, of mixed race, from the Cape of Good Hope.

p. 286, about the town of Nukualofa in the Friendly Islands [July 1874]: At a small printing office close by, an almanac, a magazine, bibles, and a few books, are printed in the native language.

p. 319, Fiji Islands: King Thackombau was visited in the morning by two of our party, who took him by surprise; he was found lying on his stomach, reading his Bible.

p. 377, footnote 43 of Introduction: Seagoing ships were supplied with libraries by the Admiralty beginning in 1828; most books were of a moral, religious, or educational nature. The scope broadened as donations were received from private sources.

p. 417-18, a long passage on the Chinese language, Pidgeon English, Chinese writing, and Chinese bookmaking: A Chinese book is very interesting in its construction. The back of the book has its edges cut, instead of the front as with us, and the front is left doubled in the condition in which we leave the backs of books. The numbering of the pages and the title of the Chinese book are placed on the front edge of each leaf, where the paper is doubled, so that half of each character is upon one side of the edge, and half on the other; and the folded edge has to be straightened out if the entire characters are required to be seen [and so on with three more pages on book construction].

p. 417-20, very interesting passage on Chinese and Japanese writing and book construction, with their double leaves and writing on one side of paper: At the bookshops close by the water-clock [in Canton], a bookseller, from whom I had bought some books, presented me with an old wood block as a specimen at my request, and refused payment for it. Yet the Chinese are commonly accused of being universally grasping, in their dealing.

p. 421, at the great monastery at Honam: We were next shown the refectory; here was a small pulpit for the reading of pious books by one

of the monks whilst the others are at dinner, just for example as at Tintern Abbey.

p. 484: In Osaka, I spent much of my time in the booksellers' quarter, where there is nearly a mile of continuous book-shops. I bought here a large collection of illustrated books. The shops of each kind of wares are mostly placed together in the city.

p. 494, on the Sandwich Islands: The illustrations in many of the Japanese Zoological books are very interesting to a naturalist and remarkably complete. Even Land Planarians (*Bipalium*) are figured in some them.

In a book in my collection, representing the doings of the Ainos, the Ainos are represented as hunting Seals, or Sea Otters, with bows and arrows from Canoes....

I often visited the Japanese theatres. Besides the ordinary stage there is a second stage, consisting of a narrow platform, which lies on the left side of the audience, and extends from the side of the main stage the whole length of the theatre, to a point close to the entrance door. Actors go round to the door behind the box seats, and appearing at the end of the long platform, approach the stage along it, acting their parts as they go.

In this way journeys are acted. A man may be represented as on a journey home, and at the same time his family are seen waiting his return to the main stage, and he may be waylaid and murdered, for example, on the way; two separate but connected scenes being acted at once.

p. 593: At one point in the voyage, a number of these insects [winged Cockroaches] established themselves in my cabin, and devoured parts of my boots, nibbling off all the margins of leather projecting beyond the seams on the upper leathers. One huge winged Cockroach for a long time baffled me in my attempts to get rid of him. I could not discover his retreat. At night he came out and rested on my book-shelf, at the foot of my bed, swaying his antennae to and fro, and watching me closely.... I often had a shot at him with a book or other missile, as he sat on the book-shelf, but he always dodged and escaped. His quickness and agility astonished me.

Cockroaches soon became plentiful on board, and showed themselves whenever the ship was in a warm climate. A special hunt of a swarm of them was behind the books in the chemical laboratory, from which Mr. Buchanan in vain attempted to evict them.

p. 596-97, concluding remarks: I did not suffer at all from the confinement of ship-life.... There are many worries and distractions, such as letters and newspapers, which are escaped in life on board ship, and the constant leisure available for work and reading is extremely enjoyable. [Apparently this absence of ennui was not true for all of his shipmates.] I felt almost sorry to leave, at Spithead, my small cabin, which measured only six feet by six, and return to the more complicated relations of "shore-going" life, as the sailors term it. I had lived in the cabin three years and a half and had got to look upon it as a home.

Spry, W. J. J. *The Cruise of her Majesty's Ship "Challenger."* *Voyages over Many Seas, Scenes in Many Lands.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1877.

This round the world voyage was epochal including a visit to the Kerguelen Islands in Jan. 1874. It experienced some polar conditions but not many. It never wintered over, the best time for library use.

p. 8: For the use of the scientific staff, of which Professor Wyville Thomson was the director, there was built an ample and compact work-room..., and a well-stocked library of professional books in various languages. [This library survived as the library of the "Challenger" office and is mentioned by Rudmose Brown in *A Naturalist at the Poles* as a place where William Speirs Bruce worked with John Murray (p. 21).]

1882-84 British South Seas Expedition aboard Marchesa

Guillemard, F. H. H. *The Cruise of the Marchesa to Kamschatka & New Guinea with Notices of Formosa, Liu-Kiu, and Various Islands of the Malay Archipelago.* Second Edition. London: John Murray, 1889.

p. x: In these latter regions there is indeed but one thing that mars the traveller's enjoyment. The book of Nature lies freely open to him, but without years of study he cannot read it. It is written in an unknown language. He is confused with the unfamiliarity of the character and the apparently insuperable obstacles it presents. Such at least were my own feelings, although travel in tropic lands was no new thing to me. The few sentences I have deciphered have for the most part, I fear, been already translated by others, and in giving them to my readers I can only express my regret that Nature's volume has not met with a better exponent.

p. 35: Eating, as well as reading, maketh a full man, and repletion and content are synonymous terms in other languages besides Japanese.

"Estando contento no tiene masque desear," says Sancho Panza, and the fact is accordingly announced with the accompaniment of various natural phenomena to which it is unnecessary to allude, and which are, to say the least of it, somewhat subversive of European decorum.

Dinner over, we took an unfair advantage of our guests, and again approached the subject of our visit to the capital of the island. This time, thanks to the "good familiar creature, well used," things went smoothly, and it was arranged that we should start on the morrow if fine. We finished the evening over photographs and maps; and after the display on the part of our visitors of a knowledge of European history which put most of us to shame, they bade us adieu with bows so low and oft repeated, that our stiffer English backs suffered considerably in our vain endeavours to emulate them.

p. 229, at Tawi-tawi: The Commandant was pleased enough to have the dull monotony of his life interrupted by our arrival. He spoke Portuguese fluently, and aided by our letter of introduction from Don Julian Parrado, we were becoming very good friends when the door opened and the captain of the gun-boat reeled in. He helped himself to the Vermouth unasked, and turning round on us, abused us in the most violent terms for not having called on him before the Commandant—he "would teach the English to be as insolent to him again," and so on, part of the harangue being, in the language of the police-courts, unfit for publication. He finally concluded by spitting in the Commandant's face. We were on the eve of a row, for the brute was not sufficiently drunk to

be harmless, but it happily passed over, and we left the house at once without further incident. The sight was scarcely an edifying one to the native soldiers by whom we were surrounded.

p. 265: re Borneo: From its size and importance it was naturally the first place with which Europeans became acquainted, and hence it came about that the great water city of the East and the island on which it was situated were known by one and the same name. Its large size and the extraordinary manner in which it is built have astonished travellers for the past three hundred years. Pigafetta and other older voyagers have described it, and in later times it has become familiar to those who have read the works of St. John, Keppel, and Earl. Even in these days of easy steam communication, however, Brunei is but little visited, and it is remarkable as being one of the largest places in the Eastern Archipelago, and at the same time destitute of a single European inhabitant.

p. 302, in the Dutch Celebes [New Guinea]: Our host was a very handsome man of about five and thirty, who had been specially appointed to the district by the Dutch Government on account of his knowledge of coffee-planting. We found him reading the “Revue des Deux Mondes,” and soon discovered that his ideas were by no means exclusively centred in coffee. Keenly interested in European affairs, in politics, and in art, he proved a most pleasant companion, and, by his kindness and readiness to show us the district, made our visit a most agreeable one. In addition to his own language he spoke Malay, Javanese, and Tondano, besides English, French, and German.

p. 313, on Talisse Island: We went ashore and introduced ourselves to the manager of the estate, a half-caste gentleman of the name of Rijkschroeff, whom we found reading a life of Dryden in Dutch! He was a most pleasant fellow, had been wounded in the Atjeh war, and had seen many vicissitudes.

**1899- American Schooner Voyage from San Francisco to
Europe, Round the Horn aboard *Royalshire***

Lubbock was a fairly well-educated “English Public School” man who in 1899 had just arrived in San Francisco after a stint of work in the Klondike. He wanted to get home and to experience life before the mast.

Lubbock, Alfred Basil. *Round the Horn before the Mast.* **New York: E. P. Dutton. 1907.**

p. 17, after a day of shoveling coal he and his new English friend cleaned up and went to the opera to see “Carmen.”

1907-09 United States Great White Fleet Circumnavigation

An American fleet of 16 battleships and accompanying vessels, designed to show US power throughout the world and by most accounts did so successfully.

1915-16 Battle of Jutland (North Sea)—Royal Navy

Gordon, Andrew. *The Rules of the Game: Jutland and British Naval Command.* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000).

Re the Dreadnaught sailors bored at Scappa Flow in the Orkneys.
p. 25: They made their own amusements. “Calm-natured men took life philosophically and passed their time reading anything that came to hand, even the ship’s notices; restless ones paced any small space of deck available.” They tried their hand with home-made lobster-pots, catapulted seagulls, learned languages, took music lessons, played ragtime, staged amateur dramatics, and got morose. Gambling was illegal “and therefore flourished”, and ship’s dances became ominously popular (considering the absence of females). But their “principal occupation [was just] looking at the other ships”; and while the Army was coming to terms with ‘shellshock’, the Navy was discovering ‘Orkneyitis’, a mild form of dementia which could strike in unpredictable guises.

1910?-

Clements, Rex. *A Gipsy of the Horn.* (London: Hart-Davis, 1951). First edition. (London: Heath, Cranton, 1924).

An account of a young mariners first voyage, including this passage on reading during a voyage around the world:
p. 230: Sing-songs were almost our only amusement on the long passage home. Reading was impossible, for the very good reason that we had no books left. The few that had survived the West Coast had succumbed to the rigours of the Horn and been dumped, a sodden pulp, overboard. My battered old Shakespeare was the only book left in the half-deck and I hung on to that with grim solicitude. It was the Globe edition and I often blessed the serviceable paper and neat print—less good workmanship would never have stood so much salt water. We often read scraps out loud, and on one occasion, when the bosun came in I fired off the first scene of *The Tempest* at him. He was immensely taken with it, but would hardly believe it was Shakespeare at all. However, he knew what ‘bringing a ship to try’ was, which was more than I did at the time or, I dare swear, a good many others who read the play.

Shakespeare knowledge of the sea always struck me as remarkable.... [goes on with two more pages about Shakespeare]

1920 Cargo Voyage of Schooner *Rosamond*

Chevalier, Haakon. *The Last Voyage of the Schooner Rosamond.* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1970).

A delightful book about two Stanford sophomores who in the spring of 1920, looking for adventure, decided to ship aboard a schooner scheduled to deliver timber from Seattle to Cape Town. Haakon and Don Snedden had no experience as sailors and their assignment turned out to be a ten-month circumnavigation of the world as apprentice seamen. It was an adventure and their story is told with grace, excitement, and candor. For a time they tried to conceal their academic

affiliation but it became obvious to the officers and small crew soon enough. Chevalier, even at 18 years at the outset, is among the most intelligent and sensitive readers encountered in my long search for maritime readers.

p. 32: Don and I spent our last afternoon ashore rummaging through second-hand bookshops. Our idea was to get as much reading matter as possible compressed into the smallest amount of space. My choice consisted of one-volume editions of more or less complete works of standard authors, and by the end of the afternoon I had collected the works of Shakespeare, Swift, Coleridge, Lord Byron, Bulwer-Lytton, Oliver Goldsmith, and a small-format edition of Kipling's stories in several volumes. I decided that these, together with an old Bible that I had, several as yet unread Conrad novels and a few other odds and ends, supplemented of course by Don's acquisitions, would have to constitute our stock of reading matter.

p. 91-92: Don and I spent most of our spare time reading. I began, I remember, with Bulwer Lytton's *Last Days of Pompeii*, and next read Sinkiewicz's *Quo Vadis?*, and for long days and weeks I devoted my reading time to Byron's poems and some plays of Shakespeare that I hadn't read. Don and I put all out books at the disposal of our shipmates, but only George had the curiosity or interest to take advantage of the offer: he would borrow a book from time to time and occasionally come on something that was to his liking. Greg had brought with him a half dozen or more westerns and whodunits, and I had the impression that he read these again and again....

Felix, who as I said was illiterate, had one book, an elementary Spanish school book, probably second or third grade, with simple words and short sentences in large letters. Throughout the voyage he would pull out this old and worn small format book and spend long moments, passing his finger along the page to underline each word, reciting the words in a low, melodious voice, obviously deriving a great deal of pleasure and pride from the exercise.

p. 108, in conversation with the Captain [J.H. Brown]: 'The doldrums', he said to me one afternoon of the dead calm as Felix and I were wetting down the poop deck with seawater we fetched up in wooden buckets

which we lowered over the taffrail with a length of rope. ‘Do you know what the doldrums are?’

I had looked the word up a short time before in the small Webster that Don and I had brought with us among our books, where it was defined as ‘a part of the ocean near the Equator, abounding in calms, squalls, and light baffling winds’. I remembered the definition and could have quoted it verbatim but I felt embarrassed about doing so. The skipper would probably think I was showing off and it would make him angry. I decided to venture a definition of my own.

‘Well,’ I said, ‘as I understand it, it’s a kind of hole in the weather...’

The skipper looked at me sharply and gave a soundless laugh.

‘That’s a good one!’ he said, ‘that’s a good one. A hole in the weather!’ He seemed to enjoy the definition hugely. ‘As a matter of fact, it’s not a bad way of puttin’ it. It’s that in part. It’s near the Equator that pressure is the lowest, and this is the doldrum belt, between the northeast and southeast trade winds. These dead calms move about in the area, you never know where to find them, they’re a kind of big void and when you’re in one it’s like a bubble, you can be caught for weeks without a breath of wind, and then suddenly!...’

He threw up his hands and walked away, and I was left to guess what might suddenly happen.

p. 109-10: Each of us...had his own pet activity...Don and I our small library of books. At last I found myself with enough time on my hands to undertake a little more serious reading than I had been able to do until now. I had already plowed through several of Bulwer-Lytton’s novels and I had spent odd hours dipping into my volumes of Swift, Coleridge and Byron. I now decided to tackle Byron, a favourite of mine, in earnest. I had finished *Don Juan* and now proceeded to read *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* straight through, with great excitement, almost managing to block out of my consciousness the fastastic rocking motion of the ship and the fearful clatter of all its parts.

One afternoon when I was lying stretched out on my belly on the deckload in the zigzagging shade of the main boom, with my Byron open on one of the pages of *Childe Harold*, reciting to myself the lines

of the stanza in the poem that begins: ‘Roll on, thou deep and dark-blue ocean—roll?’ the skipper happened by and saw me.

‘So you like to read, eh?’ he said gruffly.

I jumped to my feet. I was overcome with embarrassment and a curious feeling of guilt, as though I were being caught doing something unworthy of a sailor. I muttered some apologetic remark, but the skipper, despite his habitual fierce look, did not seem to intend any disapproval. He looked at the thick volumes of pages in small print that I was reading (a seven-hundred-odd-page volume of the complete works of Lord Byron, published in Philadelphia in 1847 by Griff, Eliot and Co, which I still have) and he must have concluded that I was reduced to reading it because I had nothing available, for he said, in the same forbidding voice,

‘I have a lot of back numbers of the *Saturday Evening Post*, if you’d like to read them. They’re probably a little more up to date than what you’ve got there...’.

I happened to share with a number of my more or less literarily inclined fellow-students a rather supercilious attitude toward ‘popular’, large-circulation periodicals, and among these the S.E.P. was one of the most prominent targets of our disparaging judgment. But I was so flattered by the skipper’s offer that I eagerly accepted....

I had let myself in for it and I now felt honour-bound to approach the field of literature, which was really unfamiliar to me, with an unprejudiced eye. In the weeks that followed I conscientiously spent a considerable proportion of my reading time reading the skipper’s old *Saturday Evening Posts*, and I had to admit to myself that I found it not unrewarding; and when I had gleaned what I wanted from the first batch the skipper had given me I went back for more.

p. 139, observing the author’s 18th birthday on Sept. 10, 1920, with presents given to him before the voyage began: My sister’s present was a thin-paper edition of Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair*, bound in soft leather—a book I was ashamed I had not yet read.

p. 140, on seeing their first albatross on approaching Antarctica before reaching Cape Horn, one of the crew says this: ‘Dey look comical and clumsy ven you get dem up on deck,’ he said—and I remembered

Baudelaire's poem, 'L'Albatross, with its memorable last line, '*Ses ailes de géant l'empêchent de marcher.*'—it's [sic] giant wings prevent it from walking. We were to see many of them in the months to come.

p. 144-45, after a long period of Antarctic storms, he has a long passage based on his reading of Thom's *Navigation* about the nature of storms, cyclones, anticyclones, hurricane's typhoons, etc. and the factors that cause them.

p. 156ff, decides to write a story of his own, *The Bondage of the Sea*, based on one of the crew. He hoped to finish the story by the time they reached Cape Town so that he could send it to Stanford for publication by the *Cardinal*, its literary magazine.

p. 165, the ship arrived at Cape Town without a harbour map and therefore the captain created some make work projects while waiting for a pilot: One of the books that Don had brought, and which I read with a great deal of profit and pleasure, was Thorstein Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class*. I particularly enjoyed his definition of 'sabotage', which he called the voluntary withdrawal of efficiency. This conscientious withdrawal of efficiency was, in any case, precisely what we practiced on our deck-scraping project....

So this game went on day after day. It became a form of protest against the skipper's handling of the ship. If he was in no hurry to bring us in to port, we weren't going to be in a hurry to get his poop deck scrapped.

p. 194: In our more irresponsible moments Don and I toyed with the idea of 'jumping ship', as he had suggested that first evening when we had cast anchor in Table Bay, of making our way, perhaps by a tramp steamer, up the coast to the Congo and points north, or cutting across to the east coast, to Mozambique and Tanganayika and the Red Sea. Names like Zanzibar, Mogadiscio and Djibouti were richly evocative and set my imagination reeling. I thought of Conrad's story, *The Heart of Darkness*, and I remembered Arthur Rimbaud, who when he was no older than I was now was already a famous poet, the author of *A Season in Hell*, and who then for some mysterious reason kicked over the traces and vanished in Abyssinia in search of a fortune which he never found, and I

nursed impossible dreams of adventure beckoning me somewhere on this, the least known of the world's continents.

p. 209: I saw on my atlas that one small group of islands among the Crozet Islands is called the Iles des Pingouins—the Penguin Islands—which of course reminded me of the novel by Anatole France, which I had read with great excitement in my Freshman year, and about whose author I was to write and publish a book ten years later. I must have had a strong desire to see those islands and those birds, since I find in my log-book at that point in the voyage that I mention seeing 'great numbers of penguins'—which is clearly impossible, as penguins do not fly.

Wild, John James. *At Anchor: A Narrative of Experiences Afloat and Ashore during the Voyage of H.M.S. Challenger" from 1872 to 1876.* (London: Marcus Ward, 1878).

This is a straightforward and rather innocuous account of the three and a half year voyage, emphasizing flora and fauna as well as buildings throughout their shore visits. Pleasant but anodyne. Wild was the official photographer of the expedition. Wikipedia states in the Wild entry: The ship was equipped with a dark room, enabling development of the photographs taken of the lands and peoples encountered. It is thought that this expedition was the first to include routine photography as well as an official artist.

p. 73, on the ice-barrier, the "most southerly point of our cruise."

Ship's Library Catalogues and Expeditionary Base Catalogues

1819-20 British Northwest Passage Search (Sir John Ross)

Ross, John, Sir. *A Voyage of Discovery....* 2nd ed. Two volumes. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1819).

Ross was encouraged to attempt this early expedition searching for the Northwest Passage, but severely criticized by John Barrow for failing in that search. He had some significant

accomplishments but this trip effectively ended his career with the Admiralty.

Volume I:

p. xxii-iv: The following books were supplied for the use of the officers, and quarter-deck officers, of His Majesty's Ship *Isabella*:

- 1 Mackenzie's Travels in America, 4to.
- 2 Hearne's ditto, ditto, 4to.
- 3 Phipps Voyage to the North Pole, 4to. [1774]
- 4 Ellis's ditto to Hudson's Bay, 8vo. [1748]
- 5 Vancouver's Voyage, 3 vols. 4o., and
Atlas, folio. [1798]
- 6 Wallis, Carteret, and Cook's Voyages,
8 vols. 4to., with Atlas, folio.
- 7 Dampier's Voyages, 4 vols. 8vo.
- 8 Portlock's ditto, 4to
- 9 Dixon's ditto, 4to.
- 10 Meares's ditto, 4to.
- 11 Coxe's Russian Discoveries, 8vo.
- 12 Barringtons Miscellanies, 4to.
- 13 Forster's Northern Discoveries, 2 vols. 4to.
- 14 Astronomical Observations of Wales
and Bayley, 1774 to 1775, 4to.
- 15 Ditto of Cook, King, and Bayley, 1776
to 1780, 4to.
- 16 Ditto Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and Cook,
From 1764 to 1777, 4to.
- 17 Brongviart's Mineralogy, 2 vols. 8vo.
- 18 Bakewell's Geology, 8vo.
- 19 Turton's Linnæus, 7 vols. 8vo.
- 20 Mackenzie's Iceland, 4to.
- 21 Falconer's Patagonia, 4to.
- 22 Cartwright's Labrador, 3 vols. 4to.
- 23 Turnbull's Voyage, 4to.
- 24 Crantz's History of Greenland, 2 vols. 8vo.

25 Burney's Collection of Voyages, 5 vols. 4to.

Thirty Bibles and sixty Testaments were also supplied by the Naval and Military Bible Society, for the four ships, and distributed accordingly. [In addition to the *Isabella*, the ships were the *Alexander*, commanded by Lt. Parry, the *Dorothea*, and the *Trent*.]

p. 3 April 26 1818: The next day being Sunday, the signal was made for Divine service, which was answered by the *Alexander*... and prayers were read according to the forms established in His Majesty's navy. The solemnity with which this service is always attended on board of a ship, was here more than usually conspicuous and impressive, from the prospect that was opening before us, and the uncertainty of the event with which a voyage of this nature was likely to be accomplished. The articles of war were afterwards read, as is usual at the outset of every voyage....

p. 85 July 26: ...a sermon, as usual, read to the ship's company.

p. 125, native Eskimaux look at prints in Cooks' voyages. Sacheuse was also with them, drawing some scenes.

1838-42 U.S. Exploring Expedition, 1839-42 (commanded by Charles Wilkes)

Wilkes, Charles. Books ordered for U.S. Exploring Expedition, mostly logs and journal volumes:

Contingent not enumerated.

The United States Navy, for formula for the astronomical department, exploring expedition,

To P. Burtzell & Son,

Dr.

For two "Meteorological Journals," medium paper, printed and ruled per pattern, and full bound, at \$10 each

\$20 00

Three books, "Clocks," demy paper, printed and ruled 12 per pattern, and bound, at \$4 each

00

Two books, "Chronometers Daily," foolscap paper, printed and ruled per pattern, and bound, at \$4 each	8 00
One book, "Chronometers Weekly," printed and ruled per pattern, and bound	5 00
Two books, "Longitudes," printed and ruled per pattern, and bound, at \$4 each	8 00
Two books, "Magnetic Variations," printed and ruled per pattern, and bound, at \$4 each	8 00
Two books, "Transits," printed and ruled per pattern, and bound, at \$4 each	8 00
One book, "Pendulum Coincidences," printed and ruled per pattern, and bound	6 00
Five books, "Observations," printed and ruled per pattern, and bound, at \$4 each	20 00
Two books, "Transit Observations," demy, printed and ruled per pattern, and bound, at \$5 each	10 00
Two books, "Repeating Circle," printed and ruled per pattern, and bound, at \$5 each	10 00
Two books, "Lunar Observations," printed and ruled per pattern, and bound, at \$6 each	12 00

\$127.00

Source: "Authorization of the Naval Exploring Expedition in the South Seas and Pacific Ocean, and of the Purchase of and Payment for Astronomical and Other Instruments for the Same", 17 March 1830, *American State Papers: Naval Affairs* Vol. 3, pp. 546-560.

The American Philosophical Society recommended a selection of books for the voyage as early as October 1836:

List of Books, recommended to be taken on the Expedition for the use of the Officers and Scientific Corps. Lord Anson's Voyage round the World in H. M. S. Centurian [sic]. (1740.) Beechey's Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beerings Straits &c. (1828.) Bougainville's Voyage round the World (Forsters translation) 1769. Ellis's Polynesian

Researches, 1829. Freycinet's Narrative of a Voyage rd the World. 1820. Kotsbue's Voyage of Discory in the Sth Sea. Morrell's Narrative. Parry's Journals in search of N.W. Passage. Peron's Voyage de decouvertes aux terres Australes. Porter's Narrative. Yate's New Zealand, 1835. Bennett's Wanderings in N. South Wales &c. 1834. Tyerman's Journal of Voyages and Travels &c. (South Sea Islands, China and India), 1831. Weddell's Voyage towards the South Pole. 1825. Adanson's Senegal. Bennett's New South Wales. Chronological History of discoveries in the Sth Sea by Capt. Burney, R.N. Desmarest's Mammalogie. Cuvier's Animal Kingdom. do Dents de Mammiferes. Traite d'Ornitholoaie par R. P. Lesson. Cuvier's Histoire et Anatomie des Mollusques. Dillwys Catalogue of Shells. Lumark's [Lamarek's] des Allimaux sans vertebres. Latreille's Histoire Nature. des Crustaces et des Insectes. De la Beche's Geological Manual. De la Beche's Theoretical Researches. De la Beche's How too observe Geology. Lyell's Principles of Geology. Humbolt's [Humboldt's] Works. McCulloch's Classification of Rocks. Dr. Danberry on Volcanos [sic]. Von Buck's Work upon Volcanos [sic]. Elie de Baumont. Transactions of the Geological Society of London. Article, Geology in the Encyclopedia Metropolitana. Besides the Standard Works on Mineralogy. In Silliman's Journal, Vol. 1st, page 71, and Vol. 3rd, page 249 useful instructions are to be seen relative to the choice and preservation of Geological Specimens.

These recommendations were gratefully received and were made a part of the detailed instructions issued to the Commander of the Expedition when it finally sailed in August 1838.

The same list of books is given in *Titian Ramsay Peale, 1799-1885, and his Journals of the Wilkes Expedition*, by Jessie Poesch. Philadelphia, Pa: American Philosophical Society, 1961. P. 125-26, footnote 1: "Peale and the other member of the Scientific Corps. had a small working library aboard ship. It is not clear whether these were part of the expedition's equipment or whether they were the personal libraries of the men involved. Peale had some of his own books on board, all of which were lost in the wreck of the *Peacock*."

Source: Conklin, E. G. "Connection of the American Philosophical Society with our first national exploring expedition," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 82 no. 5 (1940) 537-38.

Library for U.S. Exploring Expedition [Recommended]

"APS item 402. List of books recommended to be taken on the Expedition [US Exploring Expedition 1838-42] for the Use of the Officers and Scientific Company. Oct. 17, 1836. 1 p. In APS Archives." American Philosophical Society.
Transcript of Memo, possibly from Jeremiah Reynolds:

List of Books recom.d to be taken on the Expedition for the
Use of the Officers, and Scientific Corps.

Lord Ansons voyage round the world in HMS Centurian (1740)
Beechey's narrative of a voy to the Pacific of Berings Straits (1828)
Bougainville's voyage round the world (Forster's translation) 1769
Ellis's Polynesian researches 1829
F's narrative of a voyage around
Parrys Journals in search of a NW Passage
Pérouse voyage de decouvertes aux terres Australis.
Porters Narrative
Yates's New Zealand? 1835
Barnetts Wanderings in N South Wales &c. 1884
Tyermanns Journal of Voyages &* Travels (South sea Islands, China & B 1831)
Weddells voyage towards the South Pole. 1825.
Adamsons Senegal
Bennett's New South Wales.
Chronological History of discoveries in the Sth sea by Capt Burney Ret
Dumarests Mammalogie. Cuviers Animal Kingdom, 2d. Dents etc
Mammiferes
D'Ornithologie par R. P. Lasson. Cuviers Historie et anatomie de
Mollusques

Dillwynies Catalogue of Shells. Lumork's des Animaux sans vertebrae
Latreille's Histoire Nature des Crustaces et des Insectes.

1849 Herman Melville's *Charles and Henry* Book List

Goodrich, Samuel G. *Moral Tales: or, A Selection of Interesting Stories*.
(New York: Nafis & Cornish, 1840).

Cardell, William S. *Story of Jack Halyard, the Sailor Boy...* Thirteenth
edition. (Philadelphia: L. Johnson, 1835).

Abbott, Jacob. *The Young Christian...* Revised ed, (New York: American
Tract Society, 1832-36?).

"Family Library." 4 selections from Harper's Family Library. (New York:
Harper, 1830-).

Colton, Walter. *A Visit to Constantinople and Athens*. (New York:
Leavitt, Lord, 1836).

"*American Revolution*," 33c. [Unidentified.]

"*Shipwreck on Desert Island*, 58c. (Philadelphia: James Kay, 1840).

Holden, Horace. *A Narrative of the Shipwreck, Captivity and Sufferings
of Horace Holden and Benj. H. Nute*. 4th edition. (Boston: Weeks,
Jordan, 1839).

Howitt, Mary Botham. *Strive and Thrive*. (Boston: James Munroe,
1840).

History of Banking. 25c.

The Victims of Gaming. (Boston: Weeks, Jordan, 1838).p

Howitt, Mary Botham. *Hope on! Hope Ever! Or the Boyhood of Felix
Law*. (New York: Appleton, 1841).

Abbott, Jacob. *Fire-side Piety, or The Duties and Enjoyments of Family
Religion*. (New York: Leavitt, Lord, 1834).

James, John Angell. *The Young Man from Home*. (New York: Appleton,
1840).

Lowell, John. *Are You a Christian or a Calvinist*. (Boston: Wells
and Lilly, 1815).

[Heflin gives full title as follows: *Are you a Christian or a
Calvinist? Or Do You Prefer the Authority of Christ to That of the
Genevan Reformer? Both the Form and Spirit of These Questions*

Being Suggested by the Late Review of American Unitarianism in the Panoplist and By the Rev. Mr. Worcester's Letter to Mr. Channing. To Which Are Added, Some Strictures on Both Those Works. By a Layman. (Boston, Wells & Lilly, 1815).]

Readings in History. 30c. [Unidentified] Possibly Mrs. Lydia Huntley Sigourney's *Evening Readings in History.* (Springfield: 1833).

Leslie, Eliza. *Pencil Sketches.* Three vols. (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1833-37).

Marryat, Frederick. *Poor Jack.* [45c]. Two vols. (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1840).

Hildreth, Richard. *The Contrast: or William Henry Harrison versus Martin van Buren.* (Boston: Weeks, Jordan, 1840).

The Cabinet of Literature. [37c]. (New York: the Booksellers, 1835).

Fire Side Book [38c]. [Unidentified]

Washington [50c]. [Unidentified]

Lamennais, Felicite Robert de. *The People's Own Book.* [25c]. (Boston: Charles Little & James Brown, 1839).

Child, Lydia Maria Francis. *The Coronal.* [37c]. (Boston: Carter and Hendee, 1832).

Saint-Pierre, Bernardin de. *Paul and Virginia.* [25c]. (London: W.S. Orr, 1839).

The Religious Magazine [Abbott's Magazine 87c]. Three vols? (Boston: William Peirce, 1833-).

The Family Magazine. Vol. 2 [88c]. (New-York: Redfield, 1834-).

Total \$16.24

“Hardly the carefully ordered reading program of a university, but since Melville declared in *Moby-Dick* (Chapter 24) that ‘a whale-ship was my Yale College and my Harvard,’ this little library should be taken into account among his early formative influences.”

See Melville's chapter on the "Library of the Man-of-war" in *White-jacket*.

1841- Charles W. Morgan Ship's Books

The Charles W. Morgan is the flagship of the Mystic Seaport Museum, the only extant whaling ship in the country, recently restored and sailing again.

Leavitt, John F. *The Charles W. Morgan*. (Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport, 1973).

p. 6: The *Morgan* sailed on her first voyage September 6, 1841, under command of Captain Norton, with twenty-six-year-old James C. Osborn, also of Edgartown, as second mate and keeper of a journal of the voyage. Osborn must have been literarily inclined for he took a library of over seventy volumes with him, including books on history, travel and memoirs as well as twenty-two volumes of Marryatt's works.

Log 143 of the *Morgan*, 1841-1845, p. 184-85 (misbound in logbook), contains Osborn's list laid out in double columns over two pages.

A List of Books that I have read on the Voyage.

1, vol. Goods' Book of Nature	The American Longer.	1 vol
1,=vol. Self Knowledg.	Benjm Heen	---- 1-vol
1.=vol. Morrels Voyage.	Pelham Bulwer	2-vol
2 =vol. Madm De Lacy.	Rolans History	---- 3-vol
2 =vol. Quadroon.	Napolians Anecdotes	1-vol
2 =vol. Pathfinder	Bulwers Novels	---- 12 vols
1 =vol Pilot.	The Prince & Pedler	---- 2 vols
1 =vol Reunza or the Last of the Trybunes.		
1 =Vol Numid of Pompei	Jack Adams	---- 1 vol
1 =vol Book of Beauty.	May you like it	---- 1 vol
1 =vol Tracks on Disapation.	Kings High way	---- 2 vols
1 =vol Gray Ham's Lectures	The Young mans Guide	1 vol

- 1 =vol Husbands Duty to Wife.
- 1 =vol Ladyes Medical Guide.
- 1 =. Mad'm Tusades History of the French Revolution.

James C Osborn at Sea Jan 6th 1841
1842

Edgartown is my native, 1843

- 1 =vol. Pamela
- 2 –vol Meriam Coffin
- 1 =vol Ten Thousands a Year.
- 1 =vol Humphrey Clinker.

- Journal of a Voyage to the Pacifick Ocean in the
Good Ship Chas. W. Morgan: Thomas A. Norton Master 1841
- 2 =vol Bracebridge Hall. 1842
- 1 =vol Travels in Egypt and Arabia Felix Arrived Jan 5th 1843
- 2 =vol Elizabeth de Bruce 1844
- 2 vol Bravo.
- 2 =vol Repealers
- 2 vol Steam Voyage Down the Danube.
- 1 =vol Memoirs of Dr. Edward Young.
- 1 =vol Health Adviser.
- 1 –vol Female Wanderer
- 1 –vol Female Horse Thief
- 1 –vol—Holdens Narritive
- 1 –vol—Rosamonds Narrative of the Roman Catholic Priests &c
- 2 –vol. Mercedes of Castile
- 22=vol=of Marryatts Works.

1853 Library of H.M.S. *Assistance*

The Library of *HMS Assistance*, 1852-54

[*HMS Assistance* of the Royal Navy was engaged in two voyages for the British Franklin search expedition, together with several other ships

including *HMS Resolute*. The first was from May 1850 to Sept. 1851 (commanded by Erasmus Ommanney) when the crew wintered on Griffiths Island, Barrow Strait. There they found some traces of the Franklin expedition, and also established the British Navy tradition of man-hauling on a number of sledge journeys. The ship returned to England in Sept. 1851.

Its second expedition (commanded by Sir Edward Belcher), part of a squadron of five ships, left England in April 1862, with *Assistance* going through Wellington Channel to winter on northwest Devon Island. The following summer the ship was beset by ice and again wintered over, this time on Devon Island at Cape Osborn. In August 1854 the ship, along with *HMS Pioneer*, was again beset and Belcher ordered their abandonment at Lancaster Sound (as he already had with *Resolute* and *Intrepid* in the Barrow Strait).

The 1893 Catalogue of the Royal Geographical Society Library includes this entry: A Catalogue of the Library established on board H.M.S. "Assistance," Capt. Sir E. Belcher, &c., Wellington Channel 1853 (p. 756). Presumably a printed version of the manuscript catalogue at the National Maritime Museum Library in Greenwich, I have been unable to examine a copy.

The ship's library catalogue appeared aboard ship in a manuscript newspaper, "Aurora Borealis," apparently intended for circulation to the officers and crew. It appears in two parts, the Seaman's Library, and books "supplied by the Hydrographer's Office for use of the officers." The lists were evidently composed aboard ship during the second Arctic voyage. It is impossible to determine the exact edition of many of the titles listed so I have chosen the latest London edition published before the April 1852 departure. If the closest date is for an American edition, an earlier English edition is listed when possible. When no contemporary editions have been found a later edition is included if available. The manuscript, now at the Maritime Museum in Greenwich, is sometimes difficult to decipher and some titles remain unidentified. This is essentially a short-title catalogue derived from the WorldCat, RLIN, and COPAC data bases. (Unfortunately RLIN no longer exists.) Unidentified titles, some due to illegibility and others due to their

generic and non-specific nature, are so indicated. We claim no authority for any of the attributions given; the attempt has merely been to give an approximation of the books available on shipboard.

David H. Stam

**“List of Books Supplied to the Seamen’s Library
--- “Assistance” ---**

- Abbott, Jacob. *The Corner Stone*. (New York: Harper, 1851).
Abbott, Jacob. *The Young Christian*. (New York: Harper, 1851).
Abbott, Jacob. *The Way to do Good*. (New York: Harper, 1852).
Abbott, Jacob. *Advice to a Patient*. [Unidentified]
Abercrombie, John. Abercrombie’s Self Culture. [Unidentified]
Abercrombie, John. *Anecdotes. Interpositions of Providence*. (London: Religious Tract Society. 1841).
Richmond, Legh. *Annals of the Poor*. New Edition (London: Religious Tract Society, n.d., 1837).
Anson, George Anson, Baron. *A Voyage Round the World* [1840-44]. (London: John and Paul Knapton, 1748).
Griffiths, Frederick Augustus. *The Artillerist’s Manual, and British Soldier’s Compendium*. (London: W. H. Allen [et al], 1854).
Hall, O. A. *A Brief Treatise on Astronomy, Entomology, and General Science....* (Lowell, MA: Printed by A. Watson, 1854).
Moseley, Henry. *Lectures on Astronomy*. (London: J. W. Parker, 1850).
Herschel, John F. W. *A Treatise on Astronomy*. (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1818).
Fergus, Henry. *A Review of Dr. Chalmers’s Astronomical Discourses*. (Glasgow, M. Ogle [et al], 1818). [Chalmer’s own discourses has not been located. This may not have been the book listed in the *Assistance* catalogue.]
Atlas for the People, Accompanied by a Descriptive Introduction. (Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers. 1846).
Herschel, John Frederick William, Bart. *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry*. (London: John Murray, 1849).

- Barrow, John. *Memoirs of the Nava Worthies of Queen Elizabeth's Reign*. (London: John Murray, 1845).
- Barrow, John. *Voyages of Discovery and Research within the Arctic Regions, from the Year 1818 to the Present Time*. (New York: Harper, 1846).
- Metropolitan Working Classes' Association for Improving the Public Health. *Bathing and Personal Cleanliness*. (London: J. Churchill, 1847).
- Baxter, Richard. *A Call to the Unconverted*. (New York::John H. Turney, 1831).
- Drinkwater, John. *A Narrative of the Battle of St. Vincent... by Colonel Drinkwater Bethune*. (London: Saunders and Otley, 1840).
- The Pictorial Bible....* New Edition. Four Volumes. (London: C. Knight, 1847).
- Bickersteth, Edward. *A Scripture Help/* (London: Seeley and Burnside, 1835).
- Bickersteth, Edward. *Christian Truth. A Family Guide...* (London: Seeley and Burnside, 1838).
- Bickersteth, Edward. *A Companion to the Holy Communion*. (London: Seeley and Burnside, 1848).
- Bickersteth, Edward. *Treatise on Prayer*. (New York: Robert Carter, 1843).
- The Book of Birds*. (London: William Walker & Sons, 1820?).
- Blackadder, John.. *The Life and Diary of Lieut. Col. J. Blackader*. (Edinburgh: Baynes, 1824).
- Blomfield, Charles James. *A Manual of Family Prayers*. (London: SPCK, 1851).
- Bogue, David. *Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament*. (New York: American Tract Society, 184-?).
- Bunyan, John. *Pilgrim's Progress*. [Uncertain Edition]. (Boston: Mass. Sabbath School Society, 1834).
- Bunyan, John. *A True Relation of the Holy War*. (London: B. Blake, 1837).
- Butter, Henry. *The Etymological Spelling Book and Expositor*. (London: Simpkin, Marshall [et al], 1849).

Byron, John. *The Narrative of the Honourable John Byron... on the Coasts of Patagonia*. (n.p.? W. Bancks Wigan, 1784).

Campbell's Ballads. [Unidentified]

Campbell, John. *Voyages to and from the Cape of Good Hope*. (London: Religious Tract Society, 1844).

The Captivity of the Jews. (London: Religious Tract Society, 1840).

Chambers's Information for the People. Two Volumes. (Edinburgh; William and Robert Chambers, 1842).

Chambers's Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Tracts. (Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1845).

Innes, William. *The Church in the Navy and Army*. (Edinburgh, 1844).

The National Encyclopedia of Useful Knowledge. Twelve Volumes in Six. (London: Charles Knight, 1847-51).

Cobbett, William. *A Grammar of the English Language*. (London: William Cobbett, 1831).

Collingwood, Cuthbert, Baron Collingwood. *Life of Lord Collingwood*. (London, James Burns, 1842).

Coke, Thomas, Bishop. *A Commentary on the New Testament*. Two Volumes. (New-York: Daniel Hitt, 1812).

Common Prayer.

1.

This entry could be for any of several editions of the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* published before 1852.

Lucas, Fielding. *Comparative Height of the Principal Mountains and Other Elevations in the World*. (n.p., 1822).

Carey, Henry Charles. *Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Map of North America*. (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey & I. Lea., 1822).

Lucas, Fielding. *Comparative Lengths of the Principal Rivers Throughout the World*. (Baltimore? B. T. Welch & Co, 1823). In his general atlas of the world, Baltimore, 1823.

Browning, Colin Arrott. *Convict Ship: A Narrative of the Results of Scriptural Instruction and Moral Discipline as These Appeared on Board the "Earl Grey," during the Voyage to Tasmania... .* (London: Smith, Elder, 1844).

- Cook, James. *A Voyage towards the South Pole and Round the World: Performed in his Majesty's Ship the Resolution and Adventure...* [1772-75]. Two Volumes. (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1784).
- Cooper, James Fenimore. *The Pilot*. (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1852).
- Cow, John. *Remarks on the Manner of Fitting Boats for Ships of War and Transports*. (London: W. Clowes, 1843).
- Constable, Michael. *Songs and Poems*. (Dublin: James McGlashan, 1848).
- Cowper, William. *Poems*. (New York: C. Wells, 1840).
- Crabbe, George. *Poems ...* . (London?: J. J. Chidley, 1847).
- Dibdin, Charles. *Sea Songs*. (London G. Slater, 1850).
- Doddridge, Philip. *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*. (Chiswick" Printed by C. Whitting for Thomas Tegg ..., 1824).
- Dickens, Charles. *Dombey and Son*. Many editions possible, including (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1848).
- Douglas, Howard. *A Treatise on Naval Gunnery*. (London: John Murray, 1851).
- [Douglas] ---- Outlines of Religion. [Unidentified.]
- Whately, Richard. *Easy Lessons on Money Matters...* . (London: J. W. Parker, 1850).
- Farewell by W. B. [Illegible and Unidentified.]
- Frost, John. *The Book of Fishes*. (Philadelphia: James Crissy, 1845).
- Franklin, Life and Works of. [Unidentified.]
- Doddridge, Philip. *The Life of Col. James Gardiner...* . (Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1828).
- Geography C----- [Illegible and Unidentified] One possibility is:
Symson, Matthias. *Geography compendiz'd, Or, the World Survey'd...* . (Edinburgh: Henry Knox and John Vallange, 1702).
- Parley, Peter. *A Grammar of Modern Geography*. (London: Printed for T. Tegg, 1839).
- Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (Great Britain). *Descriptive Geography ...* . (London: J. W. Parker, 1843).

Swift, Jonathan. *Gulliver's Travels*. Many possible editions, including
 (London: Jones & company, 1830).

Grammar, Introduction to [Unidentified.]

Hall, Basil. *Fragments of Voyages and Travels*. Three Volumes.
 (Edinburgh: R. Cadell, 1833).

[Hall's Loo Choo & South America. *Voyages and Travels*. (London: E.
 Moxon, 1840).

Harris, Robert, Captain. *Remarks on Heaving Down a Seventy-Two
 Gun Ship...* . (Portsea: W. Woodward, 1850).

[Harris] ----Prize Essay on Improvement of Seamen. [Unidentified.]

Bentley, Joseph. *Health Made Easy for the People*. (London: 1847).

Hele's Daily Mo[----?]. [Unidentified.]

History of England by Gleig. [Unidentified.] A Ppssible entry:
 Gleig, George Robert. *The Family History of England*. Three
 Volumes. (London: John W. Parker, 1836-42).

Craik, George L. *The Pictorial History of England*. Eight Volumes.
 (London: C. Knight, 1841-44).

History of Useful Arts. [Unidentified.] Here is a possible entry:
 Holland, John. *A Treatise on the Progressive Improvement... of
 the Manufactures in Metal*. Three Volumes. (London: Longman,
 Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1831-34).

Mill, James. *The History of British India*. Three Volumes. (London:
 Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1817).

Murray, Hugh. *An Historical and Descriptive Account of British
 America...* . Three Volumes. (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1839).

Gleig, George Robert. *A Sketch of the Military History of Great Britain*.
 (London: John W. Parker, 1845).

Palmer, William. *A Compendious Ecclesiastical History*. (New York:
 Stanford & Swords, 1850).

Merle d'Aubigné, J. H. *History of the Great Reformation of the
 Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, etc.* Three Volumes.
 (London: D. Walther, 1841-53).

History of... [Modern?] Instructor. [Unidentified.]

Hobson, Samuel. *A Manual for the Sick*. (London: SPCK, 18--?)

Church of England. Homilies. *Certain Sermons, Or, Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of the Late Queen Elizabeth*. (Oxford: University Press, 1844).

House? [Illegible and Unidentified.]

Humboldt, Alexander von. *Humboldt's Travels and Discoveries in South America*. (London: J. W. Parker, 1840).

James, William. *The Naval History of Great Britain ... [1793-1820]*. Six Volumes. (London: R. Bentley, 1847).

Johnson, Samuel. *Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language*. (London: The Proprietor, 1845). Many editions possible.

Kater, Henry, Capt. *A Treatise on Mechanics*. (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans and John Taylor, 1852).

Keith, Alexander. *The Evidence of Prophecy*. (London: Religious Tract Society, 1841).

Craik, George L. *The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties*. Three Volumes. (London: C. Knight, 1845).

Knight, Charles. *William Caxton, the First English Printer*. (London: C. Knight, 1844).

Carter, Thomas. *Memoirs of a Working Man*. (London: Charles Knight, 1845).

Dodd, George. *British Manufactures*. Six Volumes in 2. (London: C. Knight, 1844-46).

Craik, George L. *The History of British Commerce...* . Three Volumes. (London: C. Knight, 1844).

Knight, Charles. *Capital and Labour, Including the Results of Machinery*. (London: C. Knight, 1845).

Lankaster, Edwin. *Vegetable Substances Used for the Food of Man*. Two Volumes in 1. (London: C. Knight, 1846).

Wittich, Wilhelm. *Curiosities of Physical Geography*. Two Volumes in 1. (London: C. Knight, 1845).

Lane, Edward William. *Arabian Tales and Anecdotes*. (London: Charles Knight, 1845).

Martineau, Harriet. *Feats on the Fiord*. (London, 1841).

Barrow, John. *The Life, Voyages, and Exploits of Admiral Sir Francis Drake, Knt. ...* (London: J. Murray, 1843).

- McGregor, Duncan, Sir. *A Narrative of the Loss of the Kent East Indiaman by Fire, in the Bay of Biscay...* . [1825]. (Edinburgh: Waugh & Innes [et al], 1825).
- Meryon, Edward. *The Physical and Intellectual Constitution of Man Considered*. (London:: Smith, Elder, 1836).
- Map of the World. [Unidentified.]
- Map of the Stars. [Unidentified.]
- Marks, Richard. *Evening Meditations*. (London: James Nisbet, 1838).
- Marryat, Frederick. *Masterman Ready, Or, The Wreck of the Pacific*. Three Volumes. (London: Longmn, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1841-42).
- Marryat, Frederick. *Peter Simple*. (London: R. Bentley, 1850).
- Marryat, Frederick. *The Settlers of Canada*. Two Volumes in 1. (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1844).
- Martineau, Harriet. *Demerara: A Tale*. (London: W. Clowes, 1832).
- Meikle's Solitude Sweetened. [Unidentified.]
- Moffatt's South Africa. [Unidentified.]
- Moseley, Henry. *A Treatise on Mechanics, Applied to the Arts...* . (London: J. W. Parker, 1847).
- Murray's Home and Colonial Library. [Unidentified volume of the Colonial and Home Library.]
- Drinkwater, John. *A History of the Siege of Gibraltar, 1779-1783...* . (London: John Murray, 1846).
- Murray's Italy? Travels. [Unidentified.]
- Southey, Robert. *Cromwell and Bunyan*. (London: J. Murray, 1844).
- Darwin, Charles. *Journal of Researches into the Natural History ... during the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle Round the World*. (London: John Murray, 1845).
- Gleig, George Robert. *Sale's Brigade in Afghanistan*. (London: J. Murray, 1851).
- Melville, Herman. *Typee... Or, A Peep at Polynesian Life*. (New York: Harper, 1847).
- Melville, Herman. *Omoo: A Narrative of Adventures in the South Seas*. (New York: Harper, 1847).

- Hay, John Drummond. *Western Barbary; Its Wild Tribes and Savage Animals*. (London: John Murray, 1848).
- Gleig, George Robert. *Story of the Battle of Waterloo*. (London: Murray, 1848).
- Napoleon I, Emperor of the French. *The Military Maxims of Napoleon*. (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845).
- Leslie, John, Sir. *Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in the Polar Seas and Regions... and an Account of the Whale-Fishery*. (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1845).
- Naval Facts. [Unidentified.]
- Raper, Henry. *The Practice of Navigation and Nautical Astronomy*. (London: Bate, 1849).
- Riddle, Edward. *A Treatise on Navigation and Nautical Astronomy... .* (London: R. Baldwin, 1849).
- Neff, Félix. *Letters and Biography of Felix Neff, Protestant Missionary in Switzerland*. (London: Seeley and Burnside, 1843).
- Southey, Robert. *The Life of Nelson*. (London: John Murray and T. Tegg, 1842).
- Nelson's British Library. [Unidentified.]
- New Manual*. [Unidentified.]
- Selwyn, George Augustus. *New Zealand. Part I*. (London: SPCK, 1845).
- Nichol, John Pringle. *The Architecture of the Heavens*. (London: H. Bailliere, 1851).
- Noel, Baptist Wriothsesley. *Meditations in Sickness and Old Age*. (London: 1837).
- Glascock, William Nugent. *The Naval Officers Manual*. Second Edition. (London: Parker, Furnivall, & Parker, 1848).
- Ocean The. [Unidentified.]
- Another copy is listed in Part 2. Unclear whether this is related to the next item.
- Goose, Phillip Henry. *The Ocean*. (London: SPCK, 1851).
- Old Humphrey. *The Old Sea Captain*. (London: Religious Tract Society, S. & J. Bentley, Wilson, and Fley, 1844). [Old Humphrey was the pseud. of George Mogridge.]

- Dickens, Charles. *The Adventures of Oliver Twist*. (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1846).
- Paley's Evidences. Dozens of editions were available of which this is one: Paley, William. *Paley's Works, Consisting of Evidences of Christianity*. (London: H. G. Bohn, 1849).
- Park, Mungo. *Travels in Africa*. (Edinburgh: T. Nelson, 1841).
- Part? of the Village. [Unidentified.]
- Goodrich, Samuel G. *Tales about the Sea and the Islands in the Pacific Ocean*. By Peter Parley. (London: W. Tegg & Co., 1850s?). [Peter Parley was the pseud. of Samuel Griswold Goodrich.]
- Goodrich, Samuel G. *Tales about the Sun, Moon, and Stars*. (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1848).
- Goodrich, Samuel G. *Peter Parley's Tales about Great Britain*. (London: T. Allman, 1839).
- Goodrich, Samuel G. *Tales about Animals*. (London: Chiswick Press, Printed by C. Whittingham, 1838).
- Walker, James Barr. *The Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation*. (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle, and Oliver & Boyd). [The only British edition of this work.]
- Dickens, Charles. *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*. (London: Chapman and Hall, 184-?).
- Mill, James. *Elements of Political Economy*. (London: H. G. Bohn, 1844). [There were at least four mid-19th-century books of this title, by James Mill, Samuel Newman, Daniel Raymond, and Francis Wayland. Given above is an entry for Mill's work.]
- Oldys, William. *The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*. In Raleigh, Walter, Sir. *Works*. Volume I. (Oxford: University Press, 1829).
- Reid, William, Sir. *An Attempt to Develop the Law of Storms by Means of Facts... .* (London: J. Weale, 1838).
- Marks, Richard. *The Retrospect; Or, Review of Providential Mercies*. (Boston: Armstrong, Crocker, and Brewster. 1822).
- Defoe, Daniel. *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. (London: Darton and Co., 1847?). [One possibility among many.]
- Mundy, Godfrey Basil. *Life of Rodney*. (London: J. Carpenter, 1836).

- Couling, Samuel. *A Sailor's Hope, Or, Sweeter by-and-by*. (London: Baptist Tract Society, 18--?).
- Marks, Richard. *The Sailors' Monitor, Or, Harry Williams and His Shipmates...*. (London: R. Bentley, 1851).
- Haliburton, Thomas Chandler. *The Attaché. Or, Sam Slick in England*. (London: R. Bentley, 1851).
- Scott, Walter, Sir. *The Pirate*. Two Volumes. (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1849).
- Dana, Richard Henry. *The Seaman's Manual*. (London: Edward Moxon, 1841).
- Burder, George. *Sea Sermons...*. (London: B. Bensley, 1822).
- Marks, Richard. *Sea Sermons; Or Plain Addresses, Intended for Public Worship on Board of Merchant-Vessels*. (London: 1843).
- Shells, Book of. [Unidentified.]
- Brown, John Hoskins. *The Shipmasters' Guide*. (London: W. S. Orr, 1846).
- The Shipwreck of the Alceste, an English Frigate...; Also, The Shipwreck of the Medusa... a French Frigate....* (Dublin: T. I. White, 1831).
- [Shipwreck of the] Centaur. [Unidentified] Possibly: *Wonderful Escape from Shipwreck: An Account of the Loss of His Majesty's Ship Centaur*. (London: S. Hazard: Scott, Webster and Geary, 1845).
- Hoblyn, Richard D. *A Manual of the Steam Engine*. (London: Scott, Webster and Geary, 1842).
- Gordon, William Everard. *The Economy of the Marine Steam Engine*. (London: M. Taylor, 1845).
- Gleig, George Robert. *The Subaltern*. (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1845).
- Dick, Thomas. *The Starry Heavens, Or, The Solar System*. (London: Religious Tract Society, 184-?).
- Jeans, Henry William. *Hand-Book for the Stars*. London: Levey, Robson and Franklyn, 1848).
- Tate, Thomas. *Exercises in Arithmetic for Elementary Schools*. (London: E. Wilson [et al], 1844).

Tate, Thomas. *Exercises on Mechanics and Natural Philosophy, Or, An Easy Introduction to Engineering*. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849).

Taylor, Jeremy. *Holy Living and Dying*. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1850).

Tides & Currents. [Unidentified.] A nautical almanac?

Tinmouth, Nicholas. *An Inquiry Relative to Various Important Points of Seamanship*. (London: Joseph Masters, 1845).

Scott, Michael. *Tom Cringle's Log*. (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1842).

Dana, Richard Henry. *Two Years before the Mast, Or, A Voice from the Forecastle*. (London: J. Cunningham, 1841).

Conolly, John. *The Working-Man's Companion: The Physician. I. The Cholera*. (London: William Clowes, 1832),

Knight, Charles. *The Working-Man's Companion. Cottage Evenings*. (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1831).

Knight, Charles. *The Working-Man's Companion. The Results of Machinery... .* (London: William Clowes, 1831).

Wellington, Life of. [Unidentified.]

Wilson, Thomas. *The Knowledge and Practice of Christianity*. (London: J. G. and F. Rivington, 1835).

N.B. We have several Nrs. of some of the above Books.

[End of Part 1]

[Part 2]

Books Supplied from the Hydrographer's Office for the Use of the Officers.

Beechey, Frederick William. Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait ...[1825-28]. Two Volumes. (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831).

- Beechey, Frederick William. *A Voyage of Discover towards the North Performed in His Majesty's Ships Dorothea and Trent ...* [1818]. (London: Richard Bentley, 1843).
- Barker, Henry Aston. *Description of a View of the North Coast of Spitzbergen ...* . (London: Jas.-W. and Chas. Adlard, 1819).
The Nautical Magazine. Volume I, no. 1. (Brown, Son and Ferguson, 1832).
- Ross, James Clark. *A Voyage of Discover and Research in the Southern and Antarctic Regions during the Years 1839-43*. (London: Murray, 1847).
- Ross, John, Sir. *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North West Passage ...* [1829-33]. Two Volumes. (London: A. W. Webster, 1835).
- Parry, William Edward, Sir. *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific ...* [1821-23]. (London: John Murray, 1824).
- Simpson, George. *Narrative of a Journey Round the World...1841 and 1842*. Two Volumes. (London: H. Colburn, 1847).
- Parry, William Edward, Sir. *Journey of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a Northwest Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific ...* [1821-23]. (London: John Murray, 1824).
- Cook, James. *A Voyage towards the South Pole and Round the World ...* [1772-75]. Two Volumes. (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1784).
- Franklin, John, Sir. *Narrative of a Second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea...* [[1833-35]. (London: John Murray, 1828).
- Back, George, Sir. *Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition to the Mouth of the Great Fish River...* [1833-35]. (London: J. Murray, 1836).
- Scoresby William. *The Arctic Region and the Northern Whale-Fishery*. Two Volumes. (London: Religious Tract Society. (London: Religious Tract Society, 1849).
- Simpson, George. *Narrative of a Journey Round the World...1841 and 1842*. Two Volumes. (London: H. Colburn, 1847).
- [Scoresby] --- Whale Fishery [Unidentified.]

- Barrow, John, Sir. *A Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions*. (London: J. Murray, 1818).
- Barrow, John, Sir. *Voyages of Discovery and Research within the Arctic Regions, from the Year 1818 to the Present Time*. (London: J. Murray, 1846).
- Kotzebue, Otto von. *Voyage of Discovery in the South Sea and to Behring's Straits*. (London: R. Phillips, 1821).
- Simpson, Thomas. *Narrative of the Discoveries of the North Coast of America...* [1836-39]. (London: R. Bentley, 1842).
- Simpson, George. *Narrative of a Journey Round the World...1841 and 1842*. Two Volumes. (London: H. Colburn, 1847).
- Wrangell, Ferdinand Petrovich, Baron. *Narrative of an Expedition to the Polar Sea...* [1820-23]. (London: J. Madden, 1844).
- Norie's Naval Gazetteer. [Unidentified.]
- Patterson, Robert. *Introduction to Zoology*. (London, Simms and McIntyre, 1848).
- Varley, Delvalle. *Rudimentary Treatise on Mineralogy*. (London: John Weale, 1849).
- Pyne, George. *A Rudimentary and Practical Treatise on Perspective*. (London: J. Weale, 1851).
- Harris, William Snow. *Rudimentary Electricity*. (London: J. Weale, 1851).
- [Rudimentary Treatise on]—Botany. [Unidentified.]
- Tomlinson, Charles. *Rudimentary Mathematics*. (London: Weale, 1849).
- Tomlinson, Charles. *Introduction to the Study of Natural Philosophy*. (London: J. Weale, 1848).
- Cuvier, Georges, Baron. *The Animal Kingdom*. (London: G. B. Whittaker, 1820s?). [This is an ambiguous entry in the *Assistance* catalogue, but probably is Volume 5 of the sixteen-volume edition of Cuvier.]
- Nelson, Horatio Nelson, Viscount. *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*. Seven Volumes. (London: Colburn, 1844-46).
- Cause of Labour. [Unidentified.]

- Smyth, William Henry. *A Cycle of Celestial Objects*. Two Volumes. (London: J. W. Parker, 1844).
- Fisher, Alexander. *A Journey of a Voyage of Discovery ...1819-1820*. (London: Longman, Hurst [et al], 1821).
- Hall, Newman. *The Christian Philosopher Triumphant Over Death*. (London: John Snow, 1850).
- Belcher, Edward, Sir. *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Samarang ...1843-46*. Two Volumes in One. (London: Reeve, Benham, Reeve. 1848).
- Herschel, John, F. W. *Outlines of Astronomy*. (London: Longman, Brown, 1851).
- Wilkes, Charles. *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition..1838-1842*. Five Volumes. (New York: Putnam, 1852).
- Mackenzie, Alexander, Sir. *Voyages from Montreal...to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans*. Two Volumes in 1. (New York: W. B. Gilley, 1914).
- Herschel, John F. W., Sir. *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry*. (London: John Murray, 1851).
- Washington, John. *Esquimaux and English Vocabulary: For the Use of the Arctic Expedition*. (London: J. Murray, 1850).
- Lyell, Charles, Sir. *Principles of Geology*. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co., 1842).
- Edgeds? History of England [Unidentified.]
- Pettigrew, Thomas Joseph. *Memoirs of the Life of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson....* Two Volumes. (London: T. & W. Boone, 1849).
- Simson Just cuments? {Unidentified.]
- Graaks? Gr—land? [Illegible; possibly Crantz History of Greenland.]
- Shillinglaw, John Joseph. *A Narrative of Arctic Discovery*. (London: W, Shoberl, 1850).
- Harvey, William Henry. *A Manual of British Marine Algae*. (London: J. Van Voorst, 1849).
- Westwood, John Obadiah. *The Cabinet of Oriental Entomology*. (London: W. Smith, 1848).
- Grant's History of England. [Unidentified.]

Ross, James Clark. *A Voyage of Discovery and Research in the Southern and Antarctic Regions...1839-43*. Two Volumes. (London: John Murray, 1847).

British Naval Biography. (London: Scott, Webster and Geary, 1839).

Goodsir, Robert Anstruther. *An Arctic Voyage to Baffin's Bay and Lancaster Sound*. (London: J. Van Voorst, 1850).

West's Health Tables. [Unidentified.]

Ellis, Robert. *The Chemistry of Creation*. (London: SPCK, 1850).

Commentaries of the Church. [Unidentified.]

Churchman's Companion. [Unidentified.]

Byron, John. *Byron's Narrative of the Loss of the Wager*. (London: Henry Leggatt, 1832).

A Peep at St. Petersburg. (London: SPCK, 1847).

Peep ---- Constantinople ----. [Unidentified, but probably part of the SPCK series.]

The Book of Trees. (London: Parker and Son, 1852?). [The ship's copy would have been an earlier edition.]

Voyage in Pacific Ocean. [Unidentified.]

Beattie, James. *Evidences of the Christian Religion*. (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1806).

The Rain Cloud. (London: SPCK, 1846).

Royal Society for the Encouragement of the Arts (London). *A Catalogue of the Select Specimens of British Manufactures and Decorative Arts*. (London: C. Whittingham, 1847).

The Frozen Stream. (London: SPCK, 1846).

Spain. [Unidentified.]

Arctic Travels.... (London: SPCK, 1831).

Travels in South America. [Unidentified: possibly William Stevenson's *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years Residence in South America*. (London: Hurst Robinson, 1825.)]

Park, Mungo. *Travels in Africa*. (Edinburgh; T. Nelson, 1841).

Insects and Their Habits. [Unidentified.]

Murray, Charles Augustus, Sir. *Travels in North America*. Two Volumes. (London: R. Bentley, 1839).

Minerals and Metals. Their Natural History and Use in the Arts.
 (London: John W. Parker, 1835).

Murray, Thomas Boyles. *The Two City Apprentices, Or, Industry and Idleness Exemplified.* (London: F. & J. Rivington, 1846).

Gore, Catherine Grace. *The Snow Storm.* (London: 1845).

Barrow, John, Sir. *A Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions.* (London: J. Murray, 1821?).

Tomlinson, Sarah Windsor. *First Steps in General Knowledge. Animal Kingdom.* Part 3 of 5. (London: SPCK, 185-?).

Surface of the Earth. [Unidentified.]

Derby, Edward George, Earl of. *Conversations on the Parables for the Use of Children.* (New York: Stanford and Swords, 1847).

A Peep at Amsterdam. (London: SPCK, 1849).

Cooks Voyages. [Unidentified.]

Winter in the Arctic Regions. (London: S. & J. Bentley, Wilson, 1846).

Goodrich, Samuel G. *Peter Parley's Wonders of the Sea and Sky.*
 (London: Darton and Co., 1851).

Tomlinson, Sarah Windsor. *First Steps in General Knowledge: The Mineral Kingdom.* Part 5 of 5. (London: SPCK, 1850).

Tomlinson, Charles. *The Dew-drop and the Mist.* (London: SPCK, n.d.).

Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. *The Life of a Tree.*
 (London: SPCK, 1849).

Short Memoirs of Eminent Men. [Unidentified]

Tomlinson, Sarah Windsor. *First Steps in General Knowledge.* Volume I of 5. (London: SPCK, 1851).

The Brothers [Unidentified]

Tomlinson, Sarah. *The Vegetable Kingdom.* (London: SPCK, 184-?).

Dibdin, Thomas. *Family Quarrels, a Comic Opera.* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1805). Title possibly used for shipboard performance.

Bird, Golding. *Elements of Natural Philosophy.* (London: J. Churchill, 1844).

Natural Phenomenon. [Unidentified.]

Roman Empire. [Unidentified.]

Ward, Stephen Henry. *A Natural History of Mankind*. (London: SPCK, 1849).

Waterhouse, George Robert. *A Natural History of the Mammalia*. Two Volumes. (London: H. Bailliere,.1846-48).

Tomlinson, Lewis. *Recreations in Astronomy*. (London: J. W. Parker, 1842).

Berens, Edward. *The History of the Prayer-Book of the Church of England*. (London: SPCK, 1851).

Priestley, Joseph. *A Scripture Catechism*. (London:;; J. Johnson, 1811).

Jones, William. *The Catholic Doctrine of a Trinity Proved....* (London: Fisher, Son, & Jackson,1831).

An Explanation of the Collect. (London: SPCK, 1835).

Melmoth, William. *The Great Importance of a Religious Life Considered*. (London: C. Roworth & Sons).

Horne, George. *Considerations on the Life and Death of Abel....* (London: SPCK, 1841).

Trimmer, Sarah. *Instructive Ties*. (London: Francis and John Rivington, 1848).

Bowdler, John. *Theological Essays*. (Edinburgh: Printed for Waugh & Innes [et al], 1829).

Sutton, Christopher. *Disce Mori: Learn to Die*. (London: Pickering, 1848).

History of Greece. [Unidentified]. Oliver Goldsmith?

Lords Supper. [Unidentified]. Possibly David King's *The Lord's Supper* (Edinburgh: Johnstone, 1848).

History of England. [Unidentified]

Nicholls, Benjamin Elliott. *Help to the Reading of the Bible*. (London: SPCK, 1847).

James, John. *Christian Watchfulness in the Prospect of Sickness, Mourning, and Death*. (London: F. & J. Rivington, 1843).

Zornlin, Rosina M. *Recreations in Physical Geography*. Fourth Edition. (London: J. w. Parker, 1851).

Sutton, Christopher. *Disce vivere: Learn to Live....* (London: Pickering, 1848).

Lessons Derived from the Animal World.(London: SPCK, 1851).

Trower, Walter *John*. *Similitudes Used in Holy Scripture*. (London: SPCK, 1847).

Trower, Walter *John*. *Similitudes Used in Holy Scripture*. 2nd Series. (London: SPCK, 1848).

Young, John. *Scripture Natural History*. (London: T. Dean, 1850?).

Maude, Mary Fawley. *Scripture Topography*. (London: SPCK, 1850?).

Tomlinson, Charles. *The Useful Arts and Manufactures of Great Britain*. (London: SPCK, 1850?).

The Ocean. [Unidentified.]

Nicholl's, Benjamin Elliott. *Help to the Reading of the Bible*. (London: SPCK, 1849).

Slade, James. *An Explanation of the Psalms*. (London: SPCK, 1849).

Beveridge, William. *Twenty-six Sermons on Various Subjects*. (London: SPCK, 1850).

A Volume of Tracts Unidentified.]

The Psalms of David. [Unidentified.]

Matkin, Joseph. *At Sea with the Scientifics: The Challenger Letters of Joseph Matkin*. Edited by Philip F. Rehbock. (Honolulu, HA: University of Hawaii Press, 1992).

An unusual contribution to our reader's list from below decks. Matkin was a seaman, though a fairly well-educated one, on the *Challenger*, and uncharacteristically for lower deck men kept a journal, the basis of these personal letters about the trip.

p. 17, Introduction: Books and newspapers were no doubt available in the ship's library, which during a portion of the voyage was in charge of Matkin's immediate superior, the ship's steward. In addition, a special collection of scientific and travel books was taken aboard explicitly for the expedition (see Appendix E), although these were probably reserved for the use of the scientific staff and may not have been readily available to Matkin. It is also possible that bulletins describing the ship's ports of

call were posted for the crew's edification. Finally, Matkin himself on more than one occasion mentions visiting a library ashore.

p. 17: One cannot avoid being struck by the apparent scholarly urge of this young sailor.

p. 31: We have a first rate library on board & a good many of the magazines are sent out gratis; we have also a harmonium but the ship has been too unsteady to cast it adrift yet—I hope to have a time now and then.

p. 103-04, Matkin while at Bahia in September 1873 “complained to his mother again that too little information was passed down to the crew.” “You will read better accounts of these islands—and of the 2 men whom we are bringing away [recent rescues]—in the newspapers, for the scientifics have nothing else to do but go on shore & gather their information for the papers.”

p. 132—Here Matkin gives a lengthy paragraph on the history of the Kerguelen Islands, something he must have based on the ship's books.

See also Appendix E: “List of Books for H.M.S. Challenger” (p. 359-70).

According to the published *Narrative* (vol. I, pt. I, p. 45):

The Library consisted of several hundred volumes, including Voyages, Travels, standard works on Zoology, Botany, Chemistry, Transactions and Proceedings of Societies, &c. These were either supplied by the Admiralty, or were the property of the Scientific Staff. It does not appear that any useful purpose would be served by giving a list of these books.

A List of Books for H.M.S. “Challenger” dated 20 Decr. 1872 follows, on p. 359-70.

p. 377, footnote 43 of Introduction: Seagoing ships were supplied with libraries by the Admiralty beginning in 1828; most books were of a moral, religious, or educational nature. The scope broadened as donations were received from private sources.

1878-79 Fictional Passenger Voyage, Britain to Australia (P & O?)

Trollope, Anthony. *John Caldigate*. Introduction by R. C. Terry.
London: The Folio Society, 1995. [First published in book form London:
Chapman and Hall, 1879.]

A romantic evening second-class deck conversation between a disinherited young gentleman and a mysterious widow (Mrs Smith) in some form of trouble. The talk turns to books, starting with John Caldigate, the deprived gentleman:

p. 41: 'I don't like being idle. I read a good deal. Do you read?'

'I have but few books here. I have read more perhaps than most young women of my age. I came away in such a hurry that I have almost nothing with me.'

'Can I lend you books?'

'If you will. I will promise to take care of them.'

'I have *The Heartbroken One*, by Spratt, you know. It is very absurd, but full of life from beginning to end. All that Spratt writes is very lively.'

'I don't think I care for Spratt. He may be lively, but he's not life-like.'

'And *Michael Bamfold*. It is hard work, perhaps, but very thoughtful, if you can digest that work of thing.'

'I hate thought.'

'What do you say to Miss Bouverie's last—*Ridden to a Standstill*; a little loud, perhaps, but very interesting? Or *Green Grow the Rushes O*, by Mrs Tremaine? None of Mrs Tremaine's people do anything that anybody would do, but they all talk well.'

'I hate novels written by women. Their girls are so unlovely, and their men such absurdly fine fellows!'

'I have William Coxe's *Lock Picked at Last*, of which I will defy you to find the secret till you have got to the end of it.'

'I am a great deal too impatient.'

‘And Thompson’s Four Marquises. That won’t give you any trouble, because you will know it all from the first chapter.’

‘And never have a moment of excitement from the beginning to the end. I don’t think I care very much for novels. Have you nothing else?’

Caldigate had many other books, a Shakespeare, some lighter poetry, and sundry heavier works of which he did not wish specially to speak, lest he should seem to be boasting of his own literary taste; but at last it was settled that on the next morning he should supply her with what choice he had among the poets. Then about midnight they parted,...

[Appropriately enough, all of Caldigate’s titles are Trollope’s fictional creations.]

1881-84 International Polar Year Station, Point Barrow, Alaska.

[Need source]

p. 107. VI. Memorandum of Outfit: List of apparatus to be furnished to Point Barrow and, with some exceptions and additions, to Lady Franklin Bay.

Blank books and forms.—Twelve diaries for 1881, 1882, and 1883, respectively, one to be kept by each man; two hundred and fifty books for original record of meteorological observations; fifty blank books for daily journal, for miscellaneous observations; fifty volumes Form 4, for copy of origin record; three hundred star charts, for auroras, &c.; one hundred forms for comparison of barometers; eight hundred forms for anemometer register.

Books.—Instructions to Observers, Signal Service, U. S. A.; Annual Reports of the Chief Signal Officer, from 1873 to 1880, inclusive; Loomis’s Treatise on Meteorology; Buchan’s Handy Book of Meteorology; Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. I.; Guyot’s Meteorological and Physical Tables; Church’s Trigonometry;

Chauvenet's Practical Astronomy; Bowditch's Navigator; Bowditch's Useful Tables; Lee's Collection of Tables and Formula; American Nautical Almanac for 1881, 1882, and 1883; Admiralty Manual of Scientific Inquiry, 4th ed.; Admiralty Manual and Instructions for Arctic Expedition, 1875; Nares's &c., Reports of English Arctic Expedition; Nares's Narrative of Voyage to Polar Sea, London, 1878; Charts, United States Hydrographic Office, No. 68, and British Admiralty, Nos. 593, 2164, 2435; Bremiker's edition of Vega's Logarithmic Tables; Barlow's Tables; Coast Survey Papers on Time Latitude, Longitude, Magnetism, and Tidal Observations; Everett's Translation of Deschanel; Sigsbee on Deep Sea Sounding, &c. (U. S. Coast Survey Report); Markham's Collection of Papers Relating to Arctic Geography, London, 1877; Schott's Reduction of Observations of Hayes, and Sontag, of Dr. Kane, and of McClintock; Manual of Military Telegraphy; Myer's Manual of Signals; J. R. Capron, Aurora: their characters and spectra; Pope's Modern Practice of the Electric Telegraph; Instructions for the Expedition toward the North Pole, from Hon. George M. Robeson, Secretary of the Navy; stationery, as ordinarily supplied; drawing paper and instruments.

All officers and observers of the expedition are charged to at once familiarize themselves in detail with these instructions, and in the practice of the duties they prescribe, together with a thorough knowledge of the instruments and their use; and commanding officers are specially charged to see that these requirements are observed.

The identical list is found in P. H. Ray, *Report of the International Polar Expedition to Point Barrow, Alaska*.... Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885. p. 17

1883 Lady Franklin Bay Relief Expedition

Garlington, Ernest A. "Report on Lady Franklin Bay Expedition of 1883." Washington: Signal Office, 1883. *Signal Office Notes* No. 10, re the *Yantic* and *Porteus* debacle.

p. 25-7: Scientific Outfit of the Lady Franklin Bay Relief Expedition of 1883. Memorandum B, includes the following items:

Charts of Smith Sound

Registry forms, e.g. 720 star charts.

1 reading glass

Signal Service Order 41, 1881, 12 copies (dew-point tables)

1 volume. "Meteorological Record"

1 copy Treatise of Aneroid Barometers

1 copy Admiralty Manual of Scientific Inquiry

1 copy Arctic Manual, 1875.

1 copy Vega's Logarithms

2 copies Nautical Almanac 1875

2 copies Nautical Almanac 1884

1 copy Chauvenet's Astronomy

1 copy Chauvenet's Trigonometry

2 copies Loomis' Meteorology.

2 copies Guyots Tables

1 copy Everatt's Deschanel.

1 copy Bowditch Useful Tables.

2 copies Negur on Chronometers.

1 Webster's dictionary

Signal Office Notes No. 14 is supplement to this number 10 (1884) and includes a charming illustration, probably an aquatint.

1894 Library on *Henry B. Hyde*, 1894

The personal journal of William Bennett Russell during his travels on the *Henry B Hyde* in 1894 includes an account of his discovery of an American Seamen's Friend Society loan library aboard the ship:

p. 41: Discovered to-day the ship library for sailors –It is in a nicely painted box and consists of about forty books and magazines bran [sic] new. The box is loaned by the Seamen's Friend Society. The selections are good, Spurgeon's Life & Sermons, Bible Dictionary, Uncle Tom's

Cabin, other religious books and stories. Boatswain No. 2 wanted a Bible Dictionary & seemed much pleased when he found one.

Had a talk with Joe and found him very pleasant and more responsible than I had expected. He has just finished reading the New Testament through while on board ship, and had several questions to ask which we talked 'over together. I shall be glad if I can be of any help to him....

Finished Stalker's "Life of Christ" and was very much impressed by it. It is stated in a concise, simple & straightforward manner and in parts is very suggestive. The chapter of the "Year of Public Fever" and one narrating the "Trial and Crucifixion" are fine. I must read the book again at an early opportunity. It is vastly superior to those books which draw so tremendously on the imagination."

The journal is in the collections of the Maine Maritime Museum (Bath) as is the library box of the ASFS which came to the collection empty of books. Since its receipt, the Museum has added nine titles from other Seamen's Friend Society libraries, including the following spine titles:

The Prodigal Son
Michael Kemp
View of Christ
Gates of Prayer
View of Christ [2nd copy?]
Walla Mannumps
Young Pilgrim
Stories of the Ocean
Seamen's Manual of Worship

Russell's journal mentions the books he was reading on the voyage as well as an inventory of the books he encountered onboard the Hyde, given on p. 200-01 of his journal. The list comprises approximately 75 titles in at least 85 volumes. I am grateful to the Maine Maritime Museum, Librarian Cathy Matero and Curator Anne Witty, for making use of this material possible.

List of Books Carried on Voyage in Henry B. Hyde, 1894?

Bible. King James.

Bible. King James. Revised. [Unidentified]

Chamber's Miscellany of Instructive and Entertaining Tracts. 10 vols.
(London: W. R. Chambers, 1872?).

Dickens, Charles. *The Uncommercial Traveller*. (London:: Chapman and Hall, 1888).

Dickens, Charles. *Dombey and Son*. 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1894).

Dickens, Charles. *Old Curiosity Shop*. (London: Macmillan, 1892).

Dickens, Charles. *Martin Chuzzlewit*. (New York: A A. Knopf, 1868?).

Scott, Walter, Sir. *Ivanhoe*. (Boston: Ginn, 1893).

Scott, Walter, Sir. *Anne of Geierstein*. (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1873).

Scott, Walter, Sir. *The Abbott*. (London: 1878).

Scott, Walter, Sir. *Rob Roy*. (Boston: Ginn, 1894).

Drummond, Henry. *Tropical Africa*. (New York: Scribner and Welford, 1888).

Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth. *Poems*. (Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell (1893).

Eliot, George. *Felix Holt, The Radical; Silas Marner; The Lifted Veil; Brother Jacob; Scenes of Clerical Life*. (New York: John B. Alden, (1884).

Stalker, James. *The Trial and Death of Jesus Christ*. (New York: American Tract Society, 1894).

Thackeray, William Makepeace. *Vanity Fair*. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1887).

Tolstoi, Lev Nikolaevich. *Anna Karenina*. (1886).

Tennyson, Alfred Tennyson, Baron. *Poetical Works*. (New York: Crowell, 1891)

Barlow, Jane. *Irish Idylls*. (New York: Dodd Mead, 1893).

Wagner, Charles. *Youth*. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1893).

Hitchcock, Roswell Dwight. *Eternal Atonement*. (New York: Scribner's, 1888).

Thackeray, William Makepeace. *The Newcomes*. (Boston: Aldine, 189-?).

Thackeray, William Makepeace. *Henry Esmond; Catherine; Denis Duval; Lovel the Widower*. (New York: T.W. Crowell, 1890-?).

Steele, Joel Dorman. *New Descriptive Astronomy*. (New York: American Book Co., 1884).

Shakespeare, William. Unidentified Collection

Scott, Walter, Sir. *Peperil of the Peak*. (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1894).

Scott, Walter, Sir. *Waverly Novels*. 11 vols. (New York: Lovell, 1880-95?). Many possible editions.

Scott, Walter, Sir. *The Talisman*. (London: J.C. Nimmo, 1894).

Scott, Walter, Sir. *The Lady of the Lake*. (Boston: Ginn, 1894).

Marvel, Ik. *Dream Life*. (Chicago: Donohue, Henneberry, 188-?).

Marvel, Ik. *Reveries of a Bachelor*. (Philadelphia: H. Altemus, 1850).

Dick, William Brisbane. *Dick's Games of Patience, or, Solitaire with Cards*. (New York: Dick & Fitzgerald, 1884).

Cable, George Washington. *Old Creole Days*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893).

Scott, Walter, Sir. *Marmion*. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1894).

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. *Ancient Mariner*. (London: T. Nelson, 1883).

Lytton, Edward Bulwer, Baron. *The Last of the Barons*. 2 vols. (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1892).

Blackmore, Richard Doddridge. *Kit and Kitty*. 3 vols. (London: Low, Marston, 1890).

Gray, Maxwell. *In the Heart of the Storm*. (New York: Appleton, 1891).

Stevenson, Robert Lewis. *The Merry Men*. (New York: G Munro's Sons, 189-?).

Du Boisgobey, Fortuné. *A Fight for a Fortune*. (London: Vizatelly, 1886).

Stevenson, Robert Lewis. *The Master of Ballantrae*. (London: Collins' Clear-type Press, 1889).

Russell, William Clark. *Marooned*. 3 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1889).

Norris, William Edward. *A Deplorable Affair*. (New York: Tait, Sons, 1892).

Argyll, George Douglas Campbell, Duke of. *The Highland Nurse*. (New York: Tait, Sons, 1891).

Strong, Josiah. *The New Era, or The Coming Kingdom*. (New York: Baker & Taylor, 1893).

Lee, James Wideman. *The Making of a Man*. (New York:: Cassell, 1892).

Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The Scarlet Letter*. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1893).

Harrison, Frederick. *Oliver Cromwell*. (London: Macmillan, 1894).

Wallace, Lew. *The Fair God, or The Last of the 'Tzins*. (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1873).

Barrie, James Matthew. *A Window in Thrums*. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1889).

Dumas, Alexandre. *Twenty Years After*. 2 vols. (Boston: Little Brown, 1894).

Oliphant, Margaret (Wilson). *Adam Graeme, of Mossgray*. (New York: Garrett, Dick and Fitzgerald, 1888-?).

Bayle, Ada Ellen. *Won by Waiting*. (New York: Frank F. Lovell, 1889).

Dumas, Alexandre. *The Three Guardsmen*. (New York: A.L. Burt, 1894).

Dumas, Alexandre. *The Count of Monte Cristo*. 3 vols. (Boston: Little Brown, 1894).

Russell, William Clark. *My Danish Sweetheart*. (New York: Harper, 1891).

Lever, Charles James. *Jack Hinton, the Guardsman*. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1894).

Reade, Charles. *The Knightsbridge Mystery*. (New York: F.M. Lupton, 1886).

Collins, Wilkie. *The Evil Genius*. (New York: Harper, 1886).

Alexander, Mrs. *A Life Interest*. (New York: H. Holt, 1888).

Warden, Florence. *A Woman's Face*. (Chicago: Donohue, Henneberry, 1888?).

Werner, E. [pseud.] *His Word of Honor*. (New York: Street & Smith, 1890).

Marlitt, Eugenie. *A Brave Woman*. (New York: Worthington, 1891).

Alexander, Mrs. *By Woman's Wit*. (New York: H. Holt, 1887).
 Edwards, Annie. *Archie Lovell*. (New York: Sheldon, 1872).
 Conway, Hugh. *Living or Dead*. (New York: Holt, 1886).
 McCarthy, Justin Huntly. *Our Sensation Novel*. (New York: Harper, 1886).
 Dickens, Charles. *The Cricket on the Hearth*. (London: G. Routledge, 1894).
 Melal-ah—Baring-Gould. Unidentified.
 Hardy, Thomas. *The Trumpet-Major*. (New York: P.F. Collier, n.d.).
 Robinson, Frederick William. *A Fair Maid*. (New York: G. Munro, 1885).
 Lever, Charles James. *Harry Lorrequer*. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1894).
 Ward, William. *The Passenger from Scotland Yard*. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1889).
 Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn. *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*. 3 vols. (New York: Scribner, 1893).
 Lytton, Edward Bulwer Lytton, Baron. *A Strange Story*. (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1892).
 Drummond, Henry. *The City without a Church*. (New York: J. Port, 1893).
 Black, William. *In Far Lochaber*. (New York: Harper, 1893).
 Benson, Edward Frederic. *Dodo*. (New York: Appleton, 1893).
 Wallace, Lew. *Ben Hur, a Tale of the Christ*. (New York: Harper, 1892).
 Bangs, John Kendrick. *Coffee and Repartee*. (New York: Harper, 1893).

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1901-04 Catalogue of the *Discovery* (Captain Robert Falcon Scott)

1906-08 SS Roosevelt Library, 1906, 1908 (Commander Robert Peary)

This list comprises those books known to be on Peary's SS *Roosevelt*, books now surviving at Mystic Seaport. At some point these books were placed in the loan library box, but it appears to have no connection to any contents of the American Seamen's Friend Society Loan Library that also went on these two voyages. A note with the library case, however, says that a number of books had been pilfered in Nova Scotia before the carpenter put chicken wire on it to protect the remainder.

- Ballou, Maturin Murray. *Due South; Or Cuba Past and Present*. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1885).
- Baylor, Frances Courtenay. *The Ladder of Fortune*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1899).
- Book of Common Prayer... Together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David*. (Philadelphia: Protestant Episcopal Book Society. 1864).
- Conwell, Russell Herman. *The Life, Speeches, and Public Services of James A. Garfield*. (Portland, ME: Stinson, 1881).
- Dana, James Dwight. *A Text-Book of Geology*. Philadelphia: Bliss. 1869).
- Lord, John. *Beacon Lights of History*. 5 vols. (New York: Fords, Howard, 1885).
- Moore, John McDermott. *Lord Nial, a Romance*. (New York: J. Doyle, 1834).
- Scott, Walter, Sir. *The Fortunes of Nigel*. (Boston: Estes, 1893).
- Wordsworth, William. *The Poetical Works*. 8 vols. (New York; Macmillan, 1896).

1908-14 Douglas Mawson Book Lists

Included in Douglas Mawson's *Antarctic Diaries* is a list of books considered part of the equipment of the British Antarctic Expedition of 1908-09, led by Shackleton aboard *Nimrod*, and in which Mawson served as "Physicist" of the expedition. The books are mentioned in *Mawson's Antarctic Diaries*, ed. By Fred & Eleanor Jacka (Sydney 1988), on p. 6 under the entry for 12 January 1908. The original pencil mss. diary is Notebook 2 (16 December 1908 – 10 February 1909, entitled "Douglas Mawson, his diary of journey from depot on shore of Ross Sea, N of Drygalski Glacier to South Magnetic Pole" (Jacka, p. xiii). The handwritten list is in most cases quite specific about the edition and these have been relatively easy to identify.

Another two-page typed list was prepared for the Australasian Antarctic Expedition of 1911-14 of which Mawson was the leader; some of those physical books are shown in the Jacka edition of the diaries, the

7th plate following p. 62, depicting Winter Quarters at Cape Denison. The diaries, originally held by the Mawson Institute of Antarctic Research at the University of Adelaide are now a part of the South Australian Museum. I am most grateful to Mark Pharoah of the South Australian Museum in Adelaide for help in providing copies of the original lists.

In the following short title lists, entries have largely been taken from the international data bases of RLIN (sadly now defunct), or COPAC. In trying to identify probable editions included we have favored the British editions most likely available in Australia, and editions closest in time to the outset of the expedition. Some editions cannot be identified (e.g. the Koran or “several scientific pamphlets”) and are so noted. Some physical volumes are still extant and where known that has been indicated as well.

British Antarctic Expedition December 1907 – February 1909

Scott, Robert Falcon. *The Voyage of the “Discovery,”* Illustrations by E. A. Wilson. Two volumes. (London: Smith Elder, 1905).

Savoia, Luigi Amedeo di, duc degli Abruzzi. *On the “Polar Star” in the Arctic Sea.* Translated by William Le Queux. Two volumes. (London: Hutchinson, 1903).

Royal Geographical Society. *Hints to Travellers, Scientific and General.* Edited for the Royal Geographical Society. 9th Edition. Two volumes. (London: Royal Geographical Society, 1903).

Ball, Robert S. *A Popular Guide to the Heavens.* (London: G. Philip & Son, 1905).

Bevan, Theodore Francis. *Toil, Travel, and Discovery in British New Guinea.* (London: Kegan Paul, 1890).

Haydn, Joseph Timothy. *Haydn’s Dictionary of Dates and Universal Information Relating to All Ages and Nations.* 24th Edition. (London: Ward Lock, 1906).

Congrès international pour l’étude des régions polaires. First, Bruxelles, 1906. (Bruxelles: Impr. des académies royales de Belgique, 1906).

- “Fram” Expedition (2nd: 1898-1902). *Report of the Second Norwegian Arctic Expedition in the “Fram,” 1898-1902*. Five Volumes. (Kristinia: T.O. Brogger, 1907-30). [This volume contains Astronomical and Geodetical Observations.]
- Greely, Adolphus Washington. *Three Years of Arctic Service*. Two Volumes. (London: R. Bentley, 1886).
- Nansen, Fridtjof. *The First Crossing of Greenland*. Two Volumes. (London: Longmans, Green, 1890).
- Fiala, Anthony. *Fighting the Polar Ice*. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1907).
- Nansen, Fridtjof. *Fridtjof Nansen’s “Farthest North”*. (London: G. Newnes, 1898).
- Moncrieff, Ascott Robert. *The World of Today*. Six Volumes. (London: Graham Publishing, c1905).
- Benham, William Gurney. *Cassell’s Book of Quotations, Proverbs and Household Words*. (London: Cassell’s, 1907).
- Dictionary of National Biography*. Second Edition. (London: Smith, Elder, 1906).
- Hoare, J. Douglas. *Arctic Exploration*. (London; Methuen, 1906).
- Ross, John, Sir. *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-West*. (Paris; A. and W. Galignani, 1835).
- Markham, Albert Hastings, Sir. *A Whaling Cruise to Baffin’s Bay and the Gulf of Boothia*. (London: Low, Marston, 1874).
- Nares, George S. *Narrative of a Voyage to the Polar Sea during 1875-6*. Third Edition. Two Volumes. (London: Low, Marston, 1878).

1911-14 Australasian Antarctic Expedition: Library

For this later expedition, there are four lists, each of which is divided into the owners or sources of the books who are indicated as follows:

D.M. Dr. Douglas Mawson: leader

Mackellar. Library. Charles Mackellar was an English financier who donated a “small” library to the expedition, some of which survive in Adelaide.

Bage Lieut. Robert Bage: astronomer, assistant magnetician and recorder of tides

Stillwell Frank L. Stillwell: geologist

Hodgeman Alfred J. Hodgeman: cartographer and sketch artist

Capt. Davis John K. Davis: master of SY *Aurora* and second in command of the expedition.

Philip Ayres biography of Mawson: *Mawson: A Life*. (Melbourne, Aus.: The Miegunyah Press, 1999), describes the library as follows: The AAE’s [Australasian Antarctic Expedition, 1911-14] library was almost equally provided by Campbell Mackellar and Mawson himself. The books from Mackellar included literature of Arctic and Antarctic travel, scientific textbooks and general literature. Mawson’s contributions included, besides popular volumes of Antarctic literature like Shackleton’s *Heart of the Antarctic* and H. R. Mill’s *Siege of the South Pole*, volumes of scientific results from Scott’s 1900-4 Discovery expedition, W. S. Bruce’s 1902 *Scotia* expedition, the BAE, Otto Nordenskjöld’s 1901-3 *Antarctic* expedition, and Jean Charcot’s first, 1903-5, expedition. He also supplied volumes of popular poets like Rudyard Kipling and Robert Service, anthologies, and other items including the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius (which reflect Mawson’s austere and stoic credo, above any particular religion). Interestingly, he took *German Self-Taught*, a recognition of Germany’s superiority in many scientific and technological fields.” p. 52: [footnote 38 notes that “the AAE’s library is itemized in MAC, 43 AAE,” referring to the Mawson Antarctic Collection, Waite Campus, University of Adelaide.]

Douglas Mawson Books; D.M.1.

Tasmania. Supreme Court. *The Tasmanian Law Reports*. Volume 8. (Hobart, Tas.: The Tasmanian News, 1906-41?). [This volume contains reports of the Tasmanian Mining Board.]

Lock, John Bascombe. *A Treatise on Elementary Trigonometry*.... Two Volumes in 1. (London: Macmillan, 1906).
Life in the Antarctic. (London: Gowans & Gray, 1907).
The Antarctic Manual for the Use of the Expedition of 1901. (London: Royal Geographical Society, 1901).
 Mill, Hugh Robert. *The Siege of the South Pole: The Story of Antarctic Exploration*. (London: A. Rivers, 1905).
 Hobbs, William Herbert. *Characteristics of Existing Glaciers*. (New York: Macmillan, 1911).
 Shackleton, Ernest Henry, Sir. *The Heart of the Antarctic...1907-1909*. Two Volumes. (London: W. Heinemann, 1909).

Mackellar Library.

Harker, Alfred. *Petrology for Students*. Fifth Edition. (Cambridge: The University Press, 1919).
 Mikkelsen, Ejnar. *Conquering the Arctic Ice*. (London: Heinemann, 1909). [This copy extant in Mackellar Library, South Australian Museum.]
 Bull, H. J. *The Cruise of the 'Antarctic' to the South Polar Regions*. (London: Edward Arnold, 1896).
 Edwards, Deltus Malin. *The Toll of the Arctic Seas*. (London: Chapman. 1910).
 Cook, Frederick Albert. *Through the First Antarctic Night, 1898-1899*. (New York: Doubleday, 1909).
 Lea, Samuel Hill. *Hydrographic Surveying*. (New York: Engineering News, 1905).
 Nuttall, P. Austin. *The Nuttall Encyclopædia*. 40th Thousand. (London, New York, F. Warne, 1901).

Expedition Accounts: Mackellar Library

The following are classic accounts of a number of individual expeditions, recognizing that these may not be the actual editions of the books cited:

Spry, William James Joseph. *The Cruise of Her Majesty's Ship "Challenger."* 14th Edition. (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, n.d.). [This copy extant in Mackellar Library, South Australian Museum.]

Anson, George Anson, Baron. *A Voyage Around the World in the Years, 1740-4.* (London, New York: J.M. Dent, n.d.).

Bage Books.

Brown, Robert Neal Rudmose. *The Voyage of the "Scotia."* (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1906).

Fiala, Anthony. *Fighting the Polar Ice.* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1907).

Scott, Robert Falcon. *The Voyage of the 'Discovery.'* Two Volumes. (London: John Murray, 1905).

Stillwell Book

Bruce, William Speirs. *Polar Exploration.* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1911?).

Hodgeman Book

Moore, Willis L. *Descriptive Meteorology.* (New York: Appleton, 1911).

Captain Davis Book

Ginsburg, Benedict William. *Hints on the Legal Duties of Shipmasters.* Third Edition. (London: Charles Griffin, 1911).

Douglas Mawson Page 2

The following six entries describing past expeditionary experience are difficult to interpret bibliographically, i.e. what actual publications

are represented, and whether the subheadings listed are merely subject headings, or represent individual volumes that may be subsections of larger works. The list does reflect the fairly extensive coverage of past polar experience available to this expedition (cf. Scott's complaint that he had insufficient materials of polar exploration).

B.A.E. Scientific Results – 1908: Asteroids, Ophuroids and echnoids -- Mollusca—Mallocephala – Fish – Freshwater Rhizopods – Tardigrada – Rotifera – Musci – Microscopic Life at Cape Royds – On collecting at Cape Royds.

British Antarctic Expedition (1907-09). *Reports on the Scientific Investigations. Biology*. Editor, James Murray. Two Volumes in 11 Parts. (London: Heinemann, 1910-11).

Vol. I, [pt.] I. On collecting at Cape Royds / by J. Murray -- [pt.] II. On microscopic life in Cape Royds / by J. Murray -- [pt.] III. Antarctic Rotifera / by J. Murray -- [pt.] IV. Musci / by J. Cardot -- [pt.] V. Tardigrada / by J. Murray -- [pt.] VI. Rhizopodes d'eau douce / by E. Penard -- [pt.] VII. Fresh water Algae / by W. West and G.S. West -- Vol. II, [pt.] I. Mollusca / by C. Hedley -- [pt.] II. Antarctic fishes / by E.R. Waite -- [pt.] III. Mallophages / by L.G. Neumann -- [pt.] IV. Asteries, ophiures, et echinides / by R. Koehler.

Scottish National Antarctic Expedition, 1901-04. *Report of the Scientific Results of the Voyage of S.Y. "Scotia."* (Edinburgh: Scottish Oceanographic Laboratory, 1907?).

Nordenskjöld, Otto. *Antarctica, or Two Years Amongst the Ice of the South Pole*. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1905).

Scott, Robert Falcon. *The Voyage of the "Discovery."* First Edition. Two Volumes. (London: John Murray, 1905).

Charcot, Jean Baptiste. *The Voyage of the 'Why Not?' in the Antarctic*. (London, New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911?)
 British Museum (Natural History). *Report on the Collections of Natural History Made in the Antarctic Regions during the Voyage of the "Southern Cross."* (London: British Museum, 1902).
 Hoare, J. Douglas. *Arctic Exploration*. (New York: Dutton, 1906).
 Greely, Adolphus Washington. *Handbook of Polar Discoveries*. Fifth Edition. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1910).

The remaining lists intermix the various sources for the library volumes. I have given the source for each item in bold face at the end of the entry, e.g. **Mawson**, etc.

Armitage, Albert B. *Two Years in the Antarctic*. (London: E. Arnold, 1905. **Bage**)
 Jayne, Kingsley Garland. *Vasco da Gama and His Successors*. (London: Methuen, 1910?). **Capt. Davis**
 Peary, Robert Edwin. *The North Pole*. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910). **Mackellar**
 Peary, Robert Edwin. *Nearest the Pole*. (London: Hutchinson, 1907). **Mackellar**
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1910-14 Books aboard *Fram*

- Books from the library on the *Fram* (1910 – 14). Contributed by [Geir O. Klover, Director of the Fram Museum, Oslo, Norway](#)
- Åge Meyer: Et folk, der vaagner
- Palle Rosenkrantz: Kongelig Elskov, Anna Boleyn
- Palle Rosenkrantz: Bent Bille
- Carl Kohl: Babel
- H.F. Ewald: Bondebruden
- Knud Hjortø: To verdener
- Herman Bang: Liv og død
- Sten Drewsen: Rødt eller sort
- Jacob B Bull: Kong Kristjern Tyran
- Harald Kidde: Aaage og Else – døden
- Harald Kidde: Aaage og Else - livet
- Zakarias Bielsen: Gamle vaner
- Herman Bang – Ravnene
- Karl Gjellerup: Ti kroner
- M. Goldschmidt: Fortællinger og virkelighetsbilleder
- Holger Drachmann: Med kul og kridt, digte 1872
- Troels Lund: Christian den fjerdes skib paa Skanderborg Sø I & II
- Albert Gnudtzmann: En særlings roman
- Vilhelm Bergsøe: Henrik Ibsen paa Ischia og Fra Piazza del Popolo
- Aage Barfoed: Skytten
- Johan Skjoldborg: Kragehuset

- Carl Ewald: Mogens Heinesen
- Walter Christmas: Frits Banner
- Edward Blaumuller: Manddom
- Laurids Bruun: Den evige - og lyset tændtes
- Laurids Bruun: Den evige - spiring og vekst
- Laurids Bruun: Den evige - de klare øjne
- Laurids Bruun: Den evige – hjærternes møde
- Laurids Bruun: Den sidste fribonde
- John Paulsen: Enkens søn
- Poul Levin: Den døde by
- M. Andersen Nexø: Familien Frank
- St. St. Blicher: Telle og andre noveller
- St. St. Blicher: Herregaardshistorier
- Johan Skjoldborg: Bjarregaarden

1912 USS *Arkansas* Libraries

Catalogue of Ship's and Crew's Libraries of The U.S.S. ARKANSAS. August 1912. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913.

Ship's Library: p. 1-10; Crew's Library: p. 11-21. Tend to be useful and practical selections in both libraries, as well as some more recreational novels etc. in the Crew's Library.

1929-47 Libraries at Little America, 1929-30, 1934-35, 1935, 1940-41, 1946-47 (commanded by Admiral Richard Byrd)

There are several mysteries about the libraries and books at the successive bases begun and used by Richard Byrd: who was responsible for selecting the books, were they all donated or were some purchased, and were they disassembled at the end of each mission or were they allowed to float away along with the bases themselves. There is little doubt that the leadership of Little America saw their book collections as vital components of the psychological health of the personnel. [See David H. Stam, “Byrd’s Books: The Libraries of Little America I-III.” *Coriolis: Interdisciplinary Journal of Maritime History* II???, and his *Adventures in Polar Reading: The Book Cultures of High Latitudes*. New York: The Grolier Club, 2019. Pp. 263

Miscellaneous Non-Polar Reading Experiences

Iain Sinclair. “Diary,” *London Review of Books* Vol. 41, No. 19 (Oct. 10, 2019), p. 48-49

This observation brings me to the prompt for my own back-country tourism. I was in pursuit of my Scottish great-grandfather Arthur Sinclair, from Turriff in Aberdeenshire. In a chapbook, *The Story of His Life and Times as Told by Himself*, published in Columbo [Ceylon] in 1900, Sinclair briskly sketches a career that had some parallels with John Clare (an elective Scot when the humour took him). Born in 1832, there was a mean village upbringing. A book-hungry lad leaving school at 12 years of age and commencing his education, ‘such as it was and is’. Sinclair describes a farming family of ‘discounted’ Jacobite stock, a father getting work when he could as a thatcher and a barely literate mother. With his first earnings as a garden labourer, the boy walked to Aberdeen and bought six volumes of James Hervey’s *Reflections on a Flower Garden*—just as Clare had tramped from Helpston to Stamford, before the bookshop opened, to secure a coveted copy of James Thomson’s *The Seasons*. And like Clare, Sinclair paused on his return journey to investigate his purchase. ‘As I walked from Aberdeen I could not help sitting down occasionally by the wayside to dip into it.’ My great-grandfather soon discovered Oliver Goldsmith and Thomas De Quincey. ‘The beauty of the prose poems and the neatness of the humour was such as I had never before met with.’ The practical mysteries of propagation and grafting now cohabited with another less focused compulsion, the urge to write. The village boy rose at 4 a.m. to cultivate his own small patch among ‘a wilderness of moorland farms’. His special pride was a plot of potatoes. He bathed in a burn and caught trout. The pattern of his life, the intimacy with the ground, the eye on the weather, the threats from landlords and remote investors, was a northern version of the subsistence regime of the Ashàninka. After reading Alexander Humboldt’s *Essay on the Geography of Plants*, Sinclair conceived an ambition to follow in the author’s footsteps over the Andes.

[Pliny the Elder] Katherine Rendell. “Consider the Hedgehog,” *London Review of Books* (24 October 2019) p. 35 **[Find Source in Pliny]**

PLINY THE ELDER was not an easy man. He reprimanded his nephew, Pliny the Younger, for walking instead of lettering himself be carried, thereby wasting hours when he could have been reading.